A

VINDICATION

OF THE

Primitive Christians,

In point of

Obedience to their Prince,

AGAINST

The Calumnies of a Book intituled

THE

Life of Julian,

Written by ECEBOLIUS the Sophist.

[By Thom. Long]

As also the

Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*

Cleared, in Defence of Dr. *HICKS*.

Together with an APPENDIX:

Being a more full and distinct Answer to Mr. *Tho. Hunt*'s Preface and Postscript.

Unto all which is added

The Life of *Julian* enlarg'd.

LONDON: Printed by *J. C.* and *Freeman Collins*, and are to be sold by *Robert Kettlewell*, at the Hand and Sceptre over against St. *Dunstan*'s Church. 1683. 8°.



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TO THE

Most Reverend Father in God,

WILLIAM,

By Divine Providence

Lord Archbp of *Canterbury*,

Primate of all *England*, and Metropolitan, And one of his Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council, &c.

May it please your Grace,

ALthough (as *Solomon* says) *Every thing is beautiful in his season*; and there was a time when *a Cup of cold Water* was an acceptable Present to an *Emperour*: yet should I not have presumed to offer so *mean* a *Present* to so *Great* a *Person*, as a little *Water* in a *homely Vessel*, taken up in *haste* and *disorder*, (as

men are wont to do when the *Neighbourhood* is on *fire*) had it not been that the *Fire-brands* which I endeavour to extinguiſh, have not onely been *ſcattered* up and down among *combuſtible matter* through the Nation, but that the *Bonteſeus* have been ſo *deſperately bold*, as to throw ſome of their *Fire-balls* into the *Auguſt Aſſembly* of his Majeſties *moſt Honourable Privy-Council*. Such was the *Barbarous Celeuſma*, the *Anſwers* to Dr. *Stillingfleet*, &c. and now a *Traiterous Preface* and *Poſtſcript* dedicated by one *Tho. Hunt* to the Right Honourable *John Earl of Radnor*, &c. Lord Preſident of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

I am well aſſured, that that *Judicious* and *Noble Lord* hath either ſo *contemned* thoſe ſeditious and treaſonable *Libels*, as not to vouchſafe them the *Reading*; or if he hath read them, that

that they kindled a *juſt indignation* in his *loyal breaſt*, and condemned *them* to the *fire*, as deſigned to ſet the *Nation* in a *flame*. The Author tells us truly, that *the reaſon of his Dedication was to create a Prejudice:* and the thing is ſelf-evident, that the greateſt *Adverſaries* which that *Noble Lord* hath (if at leaſt he hath any: for I know he can have *none*, but among the *factious* and *ſeditious Rabble* that are acted by *ſuch Seducers*) could not have offered a *greater Affront* to a Perſon of his *known Wiſdom* and *Integrity*, than ſuch a Dedication amounts unto; and therefore I doubt not but thoſe *fiery Darts* which that Author hath *ſhot* againſt ſo firm a *Fortreſs* of *Religion* and *Loyalty*, will *recoil* on his own head.

If men of ſuch *fiery tempers* have preſumed of *favour* from ſo Great Perſons, I cannot but hope for your

Graces *pardon*, who have endeavoured, though in a *hasty* and *rude manner*, to *extinguish* those *Wilde-fires* which they have *kindled*: for God onely knows *how great a matter a little* such *fire*, blown (as it is) with *popular breath*, may *kindle*, if not timely prevented.

The Devil was wont to carry on his designes formerly as *an Angel of Light*; and then the *deluded Instruments* deserved some *pity*: But now that he appears in his *proper Colours*, a *Noon-day-Devil*, breathing out *flames of fire* and a *horrible stench*, none but such as are by his *Sorceries* and *Witchcrafts* become his *covenanted Servants*, would seek to bring *others* under the same sins and condemnation with *themselves*, as being already *self-condemned*, and having sinned away all hopes of mercy from God or man.

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All thoſe *Coals* of *Sedition* and *Rebellion* which were *raked up* under the *Aſhes* of this *ruined Nation*, and which we might in reaſon hope, had been *quite extinguiſhed* by the enjoyment of *Peace* and *Truth*, *Proſperity* and *Plenty*, for twenty years together, have been *ſecretly fomented*, and are now *publickly ſcattered*, to cauſe a *New Conflagration*.

I humbly beg your *Graces patience* to mind the *preſent Age*, how ready they are to be led over the *ſame Precipices*, by the *ſame Impoſtures*, and by ſome of the *ſame men* by whom the *former Age* was *ruined*: onely, *they* were led on by *degrees*, and *colourable pretences*; the *Snare was not ſpread* in *their* ſight, as it is *now* in *ours*, who are perſwaded with *open eyes*, and a *dreadful proſpect* of *Rebellion* and *Damnation* before us, to caſt our ſelves headlong into them both. It

It was after a *long Progreſs* and *unhappy ſucceſs* of the *former War*, that *John Goodwin* (and others) publiſhed his *Evangelium Armatum*, his new *Goſpel-liberty*, affirming, *That the lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance is now diſcovered to Gods Church, as the neceſſary means to ruine Antichriſt: for the Kings of the Earth* (ſaith he) *will never be perſwaded to effect this great and holy work, and therefore the People muſt.* He in the 30, 31, 32 pages of his *Anti-Cavalieriſm*, among many other Paſſages, hath theſe words, which every Chriſtian that reads them muſt abhor.

'Amongſt many other Truths 'which were of neceſſity to be laid a-'ſleep, for the paſſing of this Beaſt '(*Antichriſt*) unto his great power 'and authority, and for the maintai-'ning and ſafe guarding of him in the 'poſſeſſion thereof, this is one of ſpe-

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'cial conſideration, That Chriſtians 'may lawfully in a lawful way ſtand 'up to defend themſelves, in caſe they 'be able, againſt any unlawful Aſ-'ſaults, by what Aſſailants, or by what 'pretended Authority ſoever made 'upon them: for had this Opinion 'been timeouſly enough, and ſub-'ſtantially taught in the Church, it 'would certainly have cauſed an A-'bortion in Antichriſts birth, and ſo 'have diſappointed the Devil of his 'firſt-born, had not the Spirits, and 'Judgments, and Conſciences of men 'been as it were cowed and marvel-'louſly embaſed and kept under, and 'ſo prepared for Antichriſts Lure, by 'Doctrines and Tenets exceſſively ad-'vancing the power of Superiours o-'ver Inferiours, and binding Iron 'yokes and heavie burdens on thoſe 'that were in ſubjection; doubtleſs 'they would never have bowed down 'their backs ſo low, as to let ſuch a

'Beaſt

'Be[illegible]rule over them; they would
'ne[illegible] have reſigned up their Judge-
'ments and Conſciences into the
'hands of ſuch a Spiritual Tyrant as
'he. So that you ſee there was a
'ſpecial neceſſity, for the letting of
'Antichriſt into the world; yea and
'for the continuance of him in his
'Throne, that no ſuch Opinion as
'this which we ſpeak of, whether
'truth or untruth, ſhould be taught
'and believed; I mean, which vin-
'dicateth and maintaineth the juſt
'Rights, and Liberties, and Priviledges
'of thoſe that live under authority and
'ſubjection to others. Whereas now
'on the contrary, that time of Gods
'preordination and purpoſe for the
'downfal of Antichriſt drawing neer,
'there is a kind of neceſſity that thoſe
'truths which have ſlept for many
'years, ſhould now be awakened;
'and particularly, *That God ſhould re-*
'*veal and diſcover unto his faithful*
'*Mini-*

'*Miniſters and other his ſervants, the*
'*juſt bounds and limits of Authority and*
'*Power, and conſequently the juſt and*
'*full extent of the lawful Liberties of*
'*thoſe that live in ſubjection.* —*E-*
'*vident it is, that they are the Commo-*
'*nalty of Chriſtians, I mean Chriſtians*
'*of ordinary Rank and Quality, that*
'*ſhall be moſt active, and have the*
'*principal hand in executing the Judg-*
'*ments of God upon the Whore.* Con-
'ſider that place, *Rev.* 18. 4, 5, 6.
'Now that this ſervice ſhall be per-
'formed unto God by them, (Chri-
'ſtians I mean of under Rank and
'Quality) contrary to the will, de-
'ſires, or commands of thoſe Kings
'and Princes under whom they live,
'it appears by that which immediately
'followeth, *v.* 9. And whereas the
Text ſaith expreſly that the *ten Kings*
ſhall *hate the whore, and ſhall make her*
deſolate and naked, and eat her fleſh,
and burn her with fire; for God hath

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put it in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree and give their Kingdom unto the Beaſt until the Words of God ſhall be fulfilled: To prevent this Objection, becauſe God in his good time will arm the Kings to fight *joyntly* the Lords battel againſt the *Beaſt*; he thus interprets that place; 'I conceive (ſaith he) this is not meant 'of the perſons of Kings, but of their 'States and Kingdoms, (*i. e.*) of the 'generality of the people under 'them, *p.* 32. As if the meaning of--- *The Kings ſhall hate the Beaſt*, were, *The People ſhall hate their Kings*, and *rebel* againſt them, in order to the deſtruction of *Antichriſt*.

Nothing is more evident, than that *this Doctrine* which he would promote for the *pulling down* of *Antichriſt*, was that by which *Antichriſt* was advanced to that *ſublimity of Power* which he now hath, and by which he

he is ſtill ſupported in it; unleſs they will *deny* the *Pope* to be *Antichriſt*: for this *Reſiſtance* of *lawful Authority* is ſtill *practiſed* and *defended* by *that Church*. And how can they blame *that Church*, who *teach* and *practiſe* the *ſame things*? If ever the *Pope* be *pulled down* by the Doctrine and Practice of *Reſiſtance* of lawful Princes, it will be to *ſet up Another* in his room.

Now that the Doctrine which was taught by this *wretched man* and *John Milton*, the onely two perſons that *publickly defended* the *Parricide* committed on that *incomparable King*, when *he* was caſt out of his *Throne*, and an *Uſurper* placed *in it*, is the *ſame* which is *now revived* by theſe *two Authors* whom I have under conſideration; I ſubmit to your *Graces judgment*, and the *Conſciences* of all *impartial Readers*. And to what a

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prodigious height of *Impiety* are they come, who in *ſuch times* of Peace, under a moſt *gracious* and *religious Prince*, and after *ſuch experiences* of the miſerable *effects* of them, ſhall *openly plead* for the ſame *Antiſcriptural* and *Antichriſtian Doctrines* and *Practices*, by which *theſe men* endeavour at *one leap*, (as the Devil did the herd of Swine) to plunge the *Multitude* over head and ears in *Rebellion* and *Confuſion!* And yet to court the People, Mr. *Hunt* tells them in the cloſe of his Preface, That Loyalty, Religion, and the Proſperity and Peace of his Country, have entirely conducted his thoughts and guided his hand in this Work, (whereas if he were not the ſame perſon, yet he uſeth the ſame Arguments as an anonymous Author did in a Tract concerning *Mixt and Limited Monarchy*): That he hath affirmed nothing but what is publickly known for truth: That Juſtice it

ſelf

ſelf will acquit him from having done any thing amiſs: That he hath encircled himſelf (in his own conſiderations) as in a *brazen wall* (when it is but a *brazen face*). And as for the fears of Rage and Injuſtice, they ſhall never affect him: but I fear the *handwriting* of the Laws, and the *ſentence* of Juſtice may one day *ſhake* his confidence.

I joyn Iſſues with him in his *Appeal* concerning his *Writings*, and the *Reply* now made to them: and though he have *provoked* me to ſay ſomething that may *balance* the Reputation of *Religion* and *Loyalty*, &c. which he aſſumes to himſelf, I ſhall onely ſay, That I am one who have ſerved in the Miniſtry of the *Eſtabliſhed Religion* for *forty years* together; I have *kept* my *Station*, and *defended* my *Poſt* againſt *all Aſſaults*: I have ſeen thoſe *deplorable times*, wherein it was coun-

ted a *daring thing* to aſſert the uſe of the *Lords Prayer* in the *Publick Aſſemblies*, againſt the *Blaſphemies* of *J. O.* I have *withſtood* the attempts of Mr. *Baxter*, *Humfries*, *Lob*, and *others*, for the diſturbance of our publick Peace. And though by *age* and other *infirmities* I might claim the priviledge of a *Miles Emeritus*, yet have I engaged *once more* againſt *theſe two Incendiaries*; and having the *ſame cauſe* of *Religion* and *Loyalty* to defend, I cannot doubt of *ſucceſs* againſt *ſuch Aggreſſors*, of whom your Grace will find a far different Character from that which they give of themſelves: for,

Theſe two *Authors*, like *Simeon* and *Levi*, are ſo *confederate*, that they *ſtrive* who ſhall *exceed* the other in *doing miſchief*. The one undermines the foundation of the *Church* in her *Miniſtry*: The other, that of the

State

State in the *Royal Authority.* Again, The one *plays* with the *Crown*, as if it were a *Tennis-ball:* The other *derides* the *Doctrine of the Croſs*, comparing it with that of the Great Turks *Bow-ſtring.* The one encourageth *Reſiſtance*, and very modeſtly inſinuates a *Reward* due to ſuch as ſhall *kill thoſe* (be they Princes or others) who oppoſe *the Religion which they approve of:* The other *more confidently* aſſerts the excluding (not of a *ſingle Monarch*, but) even *Monarchy* it ſelf, though it be in *the glorious Family of the* STUARTS, as he *Ironically* calls them. Yet ſo great is the *Revolt* of our *People* both from *God* and the *King*, that theſe two (like *Jeroboam*'s Calves which he ſet up as well to *alter* the *eſtabliſhed Worſhip*, as to *tranſlate* the *Kingdom* from the *Family of David*) are *worſhipped* by the *Rabble* from *Dan* to *Beerſheba.*

And now I beſeech your *Grace* not to be offended with this *Confident Addreſs* of an *obſcure Perſon*, who after various *toſſings*, having through the great mercy of God eſcaped *Shipwreck* in that great *Hurricane* wherein many thouſands more worthy perſons *periſhed*, is ſtill imbarked in that *ancient Veſſel* wherein he hopes to end his days in peace; nothing doubting, but that God, who *ſtilled the raging of that Sea*, and *the madneſs of that People*, will alſo lead us without any harm through thoſe *Fires* which ſo many *buſie-bodies* are now kindling againſt us; and that he will *preſerve* us even *in the flames*; at which though we be *affrighted*, as *Moſes* was at the *burning Buſh*, yet we ſhall not be *conſumed* by them: Eſpecially while we have ſuch a *CÆSAR*, who *all his life-time* hath been a *Favourite of Heaven*; being born, preſerved, reſtored, guided,

ded, and ſupported by a *Chain* of *Miracles*: And ſuch a *principal Member* of that *Church of Chriſt embarked* with us, *againſt which the gates of Hell ſhall never prevail*; and having alſo ſuch a *pious* and *experienced Pilot* as your *Grace*, who hath *both* his *Eyes* and his *Heart* to *Heaven* for *his own* direction, and *both his hands* to the *Helm*, for the conduct of the *People committed* to his Charge.

There remains nothing to the *perfecting* our *Eſtabliſhment*, but the caſting out thoſe *Jonahs* which lie *aſleep* in the *bottom of the Ship*; I mean our *ſins*, which have cauſed the *wrath of God* to kindle thoſe *fires* in the midſt of us, which may juſtly make us as *deſolate* as *Sodom* or *Gomorrha*. That with penitent *Tears*, fervent and unanimous *Prayers*, ſeaſonable and ſerious *reformation* of our *Lives*, we would deprecate Gods diſpleaſure,

and

and that yet he would make us of *one heart* and *mind* in *considering* and *doing* the *things that belong to our peace, before they are hid from our eyes:* That in these things I may do some acceptable service to the *Church* of Christ on *Earth*, and with it have my *Reward* in *Heaven*, is the hearty Prayers and great Ambition of

Your Graces

most humble and

most dutiful Servant,

Tho. Long.

L. Cook's *third part of Inſtitutes*, p. 36.

PEruſe over all *Books*, *Records*, and *Hiſtories*, and you ſhall find a *Principle* in *Law*, a *Rule* in *Reaſon*, and a *Tryal* in *Experience*, That *Treaſon* doth ever produce *fatal* and *final deſtruction* to the *Offender*; and never attains to the *deſired end* (two incidents *inſeparable* thereunto). And therefore *let all men abandon it*, as the poyſonous *Bait* of the *Devil*; and follow the Precept in Holy Scripture: *Serve God, and honour the King*; *and have no company with the Seditious.*

Mr. Hunt's *Preface to the Argument for Biſhops.*

OUr *Adverſaries* were treated *too kindly*, and deſerve *ſharper* reflections than are made upon them for their *falſe* and *perverſe Reaſonings*; and ought to *loſe* that *Reputation* which they *abuſe* to the *hurt* of the *Government*.---Nor is it for the honour of *our Faculty*, that never fails to ſupply the *worſt Cauſe* with *Advocates.*

ERRATA.

PAge 17. line 4. r. *Or.* In the Preface, for *Cyril*, r. *Gregory* in four places. p. 46. l. 1. r. *contradictious Zeal.* p. 49. r. *Juſtitia.* p. 50. r. *templa.* p. 90. r. *Conſtantium.* p. 91. r. *συνουσιαν.* p. 96. dele *And Baſil.* p. 107. r. *Annum.* ibid. for *Curtis* r. *Curtius.* p. 124. after *patience*, add *of.* p. 129. r. *confirmid.* p. 152. r. *though.* p. 185. r. *atrocia.* p. 189. r. *parits.* p. 205. r. *Sumus.* p. 224. r. *μονὴς.* p. 226. r. *foretold.* p. 233. r. *Reges.* ibid. r. *Depravari.* p. 242. l. 25. r. *Or.* ibid. r. *ſuppoſt.* p. 262. dele after the fifth line four lines which are doubled.

TO

TO THE READER.

AS often as I consider the numerous Pamphlets which the Scribblers of this Age have brought forth, it calls to my mind what I have read of a sort of Indian Rats, which are said to be pregnant whilst they are in the belly of their Dams. Every Libel propagates such a numberless Issue, that, as one observed of the increase of Faction, the first Separation might say to its Off-spring, Arise, Separation, and go to thy Separation; for thy Separation's Separation hath a Separation.

But of all the Libels that have been lately written, none are more fruitful (as it is mostly with Venomous Creatures) than those which have been written against the Established Government. There was a Swarm of such in the Late Unhappie Times; and some of the Authors,

(as well as that ſort of Writings) are yet alive, or revived, to create new Diſturbances: And as Horace *obſerves,*

Ætas parentum pejor avis
Tulit progeniem vitioſiorem.

Every Pamphlet hath more of venome, than that from whence it had its birth.

Prynne, Burton, *and* Baſtwick, *were the Great Grandfires of this monſtrous Progenie: The* Covenanters, Nye, Marſhal, *and the* Smectymnuans, *were their genuine Off-ſpring. To theſe ſucceed (notwithſtanding the peremptory Vote for Excluſion.)* John Goodwin, Owen, Harington, *and* Baxter; *all right Commonwealths-men; with* Milton, *and* May, *and many others, whoſe Writings have by men of like Principles been reviewed, reprinted, and recommended to the preſent Age.*

I ſhall onely inſtance in the Treatiſe now under conſideration, which hath contracted and improved the Antimonarchical principles which lay ſcattered in the Authors laſt mentioned, and in the Character of the Popiſh Succeſſor, Plato Redivivus, *and other ſeditious Pamphlets; but eſpecially from Mr.* Hunt's Poſtſcript: *for certainly our Author's* teeth *were* ſet on edge *by Mr.* Hunt's ſowre Grapes; *and he makes it his buſineſs to blow up the Coals which* he *had kin-*

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led. The great Notion on which all his Diſcourſe is builded, is from Mr. Hunt, *p.* 46, & 47. (*And* facile eſt inventis addere). Let no man (*ſays Mr.* Hunt) betray his Countrie and Religion, by pretending the example of the patience and ſufferings of the Primitive Chriſtians for our Rule. The Reformed Religion hath acquired a Civil right, and the protection of Laws. If we ought not to loſe our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates, but where forfeited by Law; we ought much rather not to loſe them for the profeſſion of the beſt Religion, which by Law is made the Publick National Religion, &c. *This gave occaſion to the greateſt part of his Book, which is a loud and notorious Calumny againſt the Primitive Chriſtians,* viz. *their patient ſubmiſſion to their unjuſt and cruel Perſecutors.*

From Mr. Hunt *he took his inſtance of* Mary *Queen of Scots, of whom he ſpeaks,* p. 48. *and ſays,* Scarce a Child but hath heard what was done, ſaid, and maintained by the Clergie of *England* in the caſe of *Mary* Queen of Scots, a Popiſh Succeſſor, in the earlieſt time of our Reformation. *Upon this our Author paraphraſeth at large, from* p. 12. *to the* 18th *of his Preface.*

His deriding of the Succeſſion in the right Line, is taken from Mr. Hunt, *p.* 47. If any be ſo vain as to ſay that a lawful courſe of Suc-

ceſſion is eſtabliſhed among us by Divine Right, he is a man fitted to believe Tranſubſtantiation, and the Infallibility of the Pope. *And our Authors Comments on this, fill many pages. Concerning Arbitrary Power, compare Mr.* Hunt, *p.* 42. *and* 52. *with the* 78. *of our Author's: and* p. 241. *Mr.* Hunt *minded him of the Doctrine of* Sibthorpe *and* Manwaring, *of which in* p. 77.

P. 47. *Mr.* Hunt's *Compariſon between* Popery *and* Paganiſm, *gave him a Text for another part of his book; and from a hint in* p. 49. That we muſt not ſuſpend all the legal ſecurity we have for our preſervation upon the life of our preſent King; *there are a hundred hints for that one, to prepare people for actual Reſiſtance and Rebellion.*

Thus the Leproſie of *Naaman* cleaves to this covetous *Gehazi, and ſpreads it ſelf through the whole book, ſo as it becomes a continued Scab. And I pray God it may creep no farther.*

But for this one thing our Author is very culpable, that having got theſe and many other Materials for his Babel, *he never mentions his Founder: Onely,* p. 88. *he ſays,* A worthy perſon hath lately obſerved, That one ſingle Arm unreſiſted, may go a great way in murdering a Nation. *But* works of darkneſs hate the light, *and therefore he thought fit to conceal both their names.*

The

The Author of the Life of *Julian seemeth very fit to describe an Apostate, having himself apostatized from the Doctrine of the Church whereof he hath long professed himself to be a Member, as also from the judgment and practice of the Primitive Christians, against whom his book is a very notorious Libel; and by which (if it should be credited) he would wound the Reputation of those Primitive Christians more than* Julian *hath done. For he says himself, That* (but for their name) *Julian* had better have fallen among so many Barbarians than among them, *p.* 66.

These two things are what I designe: first, to wipe off the dirty Aspersions cast by the Author on the Christians in Julian's *time, which have more of an Invective against them, than any thing that St.* ~~Cyril~~ *wrote against* Julian *himself.* Gregory *And secondly, to prevent the infection of those false and dangerous Opinions in the case of Obedience to Magistrates, which this distempered Generation are too much disposed to receive, and (as is usual with infected persons) to propagate, and make them epidemical. I intend not a Vindication of the* Papists, *nor of* Julian, *though (as the Proverb says)* The Devil is not so black as he's painted, (*let* Baal *plead for himself*) *I onely designe a short Apologie for the Primitive Christians, whom our Author represents as so many Apostates from their Predecessors in the days of* Diocletian, *when by their patient suf-*

ferings they more honoured the Gospel, than the Christian Emperours did by all the Priviledges and Largesses wherewith they endowed the Church. And he might with equal truth have objected the same things against the Christians in the time of Constantius, *as he doth against* Julian: *for he being an* Arian, *and violently persecuting many Orthodox Bishops, setting the* Arians *in their places, some of them did speak far otherwise of him than St.* ~~Cyril~~ Gregory *doth; yet none attempted to resist him, but pray'd for him, and patiently submitted to his unjust Chastisements, as being their lawful Governour. Of which hereafter.*

AN

AN ANSWER TO THE PREFACE OF OUR Author's Life of *JULIAN.*

OUr Author ſeems better read in the *Alcaron* than the *Scriptures*; that hath found out a Compariſon for his Majeſties Subjects from a Viſion of *Mahomet*, when he might have found more ſuitable repreſentations of them from the *holy Scriptures*, as in *David*'s Subjects, who were careful *not onely of his ſafety*, but *all his houſe*, 2 Sam. 19. 14. Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles have delivered for the good of all ſucceeding Ages, ſuch Precepts and Examples of Chriſtian obedience and ſubjection, as the moſt loyal *Addreſſers*

(even the *men of Rippon* themselves) come short of. It was their bounden duty at such a time to make their Profession to adhere to *his Majestie, his Heirs and Successors*; it was no more than what the Law of God and the Nation hath obliged them to; so that they are neither *Guelphs*, nor *Gibelines*, nor *Papists*, nor *Phanaticks*, but such as are ready to *render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsars, and unto God the things which are Gods*: nor could they sufficiently express their thankfulness to his Majestie, (when too many began to exercise an arbitrary way of vexing their fellow-subjects, and supersede the established Laws) for his gracious Declaration to *govern according to the established Laws*, and (which is that which gives offence to too many) *to cause others to do so too.*

They know best how to reconcile *Contradictions*, that could swallow *Covenants* and *Engagements* after the *Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy*, and all their Obligations to God and his Church, and knew how to make a *glorious King* by bringing him to the *Block*, and to *establish* Religion by *dividing* it, which our Saviour says is the readie way to *destroy* it: for *a Kingdom or house divided cannot stand.* If the men of *Rippon* had an apprehension of the mischiefs that in all probability would follow upon *a Bill of Exclusion*, I cannot see

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but their Fears were more reaſonable than the groundleſs Jealouſie of ſuch as trouble themſelves with what may never be; or if it ſhould, is but a juſt judgment of God to puniſh thoſe by ſome *Rehoboam*, who were ſo malecontent with the pious and peaceable Governments of a *David* and *Solomon*. And I have often thought, that one reaſon why God ſet a *Julian* over the Chriſtians of that Age, was, becauſe in the times of *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius* they degenerated into Hereſies and Schiſms, (ſuch as the *Arians* and *Donatiſts*) and began to *bite and devour one another*. The Shepherds have generally obſerved, that when Sheep puſh and chaſe each other, it betokeneth an approaching Storm.

As to what you mind us of, *p.* 4, 5. That *a Popiſh Succeſſor will be an heavie judgment of of God, and ought to be deprecated by all good men:* As far as Prayers and Tears and other lawful endeavours may be employed, all good men will readily joyn with you: but if it ſhall pleaſe God for our wantonneſs and ungovernableneſs to lay that heavie Yoke upon us, it is in vain to reſiſt, *leſt we be found to fight againſt God.* I ſhall at preſent onely ſend you to a Heathen to learn better behaviour; *Quomodo ſterilitatem aut nimios imbres, & cætera naturæ mala; ità luxum vel avaritiam dominantium tolerate, vitia erunt donec homines; ſed*

ſed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu penſantur, i. e. As we endure ſcarcity or immoderate rain, and other natural evils; ſo ought we to bear with the luxury or avarice of our Rulers, for there will be faults as long as there are men: but neither are theſe ſtill continued; the interchange of what is good, will make compenſation for that which is evil: as *Tacitus* ſays.

Our Saviour would have us to live without diſtracting fear of thoſe events which are not in our power to prevent, eſpecially when our groundleſs fears may be the chief cauſe of drawing thoſe evils on our ſelves. Few Rebellions were ever hatcht, but by the warmth of a pretended zeal for *Religion* and *Reformation*; and *Fears* and *Jealouſies* (how groundleſs ſoever) have animated it, and given it growth and ſtrength. *The panick fear of a change of Government*, (he means Arbitrary Government) *was the principal cauſe of the late War*, ſaith Mr. *Hunt* in his *Poſtſcript*, p. 52. The noiſe of *Popery* to be brought in by the King and Archbiſhop *Laud*, who were *the Heads of the Grotian Papiſts*, (as Mr. *Baxter* ſays) was another: yet I hope neither Mr. *Hunt* nor our Author will warrant that Rebellion under their hands, upon ſuch falſe and ungodly pretences, when they ſhall conſider to what real evils theſe feigned Bugbears and Fancies did precipitate us. It

It is true, a *Popiſh Succeſſor* will be an affliction to *ſincere Proteſtants*, in reſpect of temporal accommodations, and ſpiritual advantages alſo; yet that evil may be improved to our eternal advantages, our Saviour having promiſed, that *great ſhall be their reward in heaven*, that are *reviled, perſecuted, and ſlandered, for his ſake*, Matth. 5. 11, 12. And St. *Peter* tells us, *If we ſuffer for well-doing, and take it patiently, this is acceptable with God*, 1 Pet. 2. 20. And if it be the Will of God it ſhall be ſo, we muſt learn of *David*, though in another caſe, *Pſal.* 39. 8. *I was dumb and opened not my mouth, for it was thy doing.*

P. 5. You ſeem not ſatisfied with *Hippocrates* Receipt of *Citò, longè, tardè*, which preſerved many Confeſſors in the days of Queen *Mary*, and is preſcribed by a greater than *Hippocrates*, in this very caſe; *If they perſecute you in one City, flee to another*, Matth. 10. 23. You are for *Fires and Fumes of Pitch and Tar*, &c. for *Impriſonment* and *cloſe Confinement* even of *innocent perſons*. The *Papiſts* indeed apply ſuch *Cauſticks* in caſes of *Hereſie*, *Apoſtacy*, and *Tyranny*; but I never read that the *Primitive Chriſtians* uſed them againſt their Princes, not againſt *Diocleſian* a Tyrant, *Conſtantius* an Arian, or *Julian* an Apoſtate. Nay even the *Doctors of Rome* forbid ſuch Medicines,

cines, even in the case of *Tyranny*, without which the other two may not much hurt a sound Christian, till the Disease be *universalis manifesta, & cum obstinatione*, (i. e.) till after they find all other means ineffectual, and he is resolved to make a total overthrow of his People. Concerning which we are yet in the dark as to our own Case; and you give us some light to comfort us, when you say, *p. 65.* of *Julian*'s Persecution, That it was *but a flea-biting, a short and weak assault of the Devil*; and that he was *rather a Tempter than a Persecutor:* which makes their behaviour towards him (if it were so barbarous as you represent it) the less excusable. Until a Plague be *epidemical* and *wasting*, it is not charitable nor just to *confine suspected persons*; much less them that are *sound*, and to deal with them as persons destined to destruction, to bury them alive; and to make their own *Relations* instruments of these severities, who may justly fear the like are intended for *themselves*.

Though some intend onely to lop off a *degenerate Branch*, yet having got the Ax in their hand, others may make use of it to strike a blow at the *Root*; and (to answer your Parenthesis) *plain English is as well understood on this side* Trent *as the other*; so that there is more fear lest we should lose a *Protestant King* (as we have once already) than

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a *Popish Successor:* for though such an one may be deprecated as a Judgment, and may prove as a Plague to the Nation, yet may we not presently cut Throats to prevent what may never come, or if it should, make use of a Remedy worse than the Disease: for, *Rebellion is as the sin of Witchcraft*, 1 Sam. 15. 23.

That Remedy which you suppose may be effectual to prevent this mischief, will prove to be of that nature; which is a Compound of *belying* the *Primitive Christians*, and *betraying Modern ones* into a sin of *Rebellion*, which may do more hurt (as Experience hath shewn us) than all the Arts and Witchcrafts of *Julian:* In writing of whose *Life*, you have not, I confess, *impoverished the Subject* (p. 6.), for you have onely *weeded it*, as Mr. *Baxter* hath done the *Ecclesiastical History*, in his *Profane one* of the Bishops and Councils

P. 7. You say, you *wrote this discourse onely to render that of* Julian's *Succession intelligible.* It is a strange course you take to *make his Succession intelligible*, which you your self confess was from God by a legal descent, and most agreeable to the Laws of the Roman Empire, and yet seek to overthrow it: you had done more to your purpose, if you had shewn what *party of Christians* they were, and on what *grounds* of *Religion* or *Law* they went, what *Sedition* or *Armies* the Christians had

had raiſed to oppoſe his Succeſſion; of all which you give us not the leaſt notice; you onely ſuppoſe, that if *Conſtantius* had known *Julian*'s Religion before he was Emperour, he would have gotten a Bill of Excluſion; or if not, the Chriſtians would have reſiſted him.

And from their behaviour towards him after he was Emperour, (which is ſcandalouſly repreſented, as is alſo the carriage of former Chriſtians) you would *reconcile* the *Chriſtian Religion* and *Rebellion*. This you have done intelligibly enough: but that the *Chriſtians* did or would have reſiſted his Succeſſion, I find no ſhew of Argument or Hiſtorie; onely you give us ſome *Rhetorical expreſſions* out of St. ~~Cyril's~~ *Invectives*, from which you infer more than the Premiſes will bear. And you do not *report*, as it becomes an Hiſtorian, but onely *ſuggeſt*, *adde*, and *invent* what may inſnare your Readers. I ingenuouſly confeſs, I do not believe all that St. ~~Cyril~~ ſpeaks in praiſe of *Conſtantius*, nor againſt *Julian*. *Panegyricks*, and *Stelliteuticks*, have not the authoritie of *true Hiſtories*, with diſcerning men.

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P. 7. You ſay your buſineſs is *to ſhew how wide a difference there was betwixt the Caſe of Chriſtians in* Julian's *time, and that of the firſt Chriſtians*; and make it as great *as Laws for men and againſt men could poſſibly make it*: yet you

you confeſs that what you have written is *contrary to what is commonly reported of them, and to the carriage of former Chriſtians.* It is then ſome ſuch *New Light* as *Jo. Goodwin's Doctrine of Reſiſtance,* that is your Guide: but you take no notice of the unalterable Laws of God, which bind all men in all Ages to be *ſubject to the Higher Powers* without diſtinction, *not onely for fear of Wrath, but for Conſcience ſake.* There are few men that intend a *Rebellion,* but will pretend to have the Laws on their ſide; and if they may be Judges in their own Caſe, will as certainly *condemn the Legiſlator,* as *diſpute his Laws.*

It were well if you would keep cloſe to your Principle, *That the Laws of your Country are the Meaſures of your civil Obedience.* I am ſure you want none to require your *active Obedience* to the juſt Laws of your Prince; nor your *paſſive Obedience*, if at any time you ſuffer wrongfully: And this is not injoyn'd by *Mahomet,* but by *Chriſt* himſelf; it is the Doctrine of the *Croſs,* and not of the *Bow-ſtring.* The violation of the Law on the Princes ſide, doth not diſcharge the Obligation of the Subjects; they are under a higher Law than that of the Land. The chief Magiſtrate's obliging himſelf to certain Rules for adminiſtration of his Government, is not the juſt Meaſure or chiefeſt Tye of the Subjects Obedience. The

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eternal Laws of God and our Saviour, that require Obedience and Submission even to wicked Princes, and that *for Conscience sake*, and threatning *Resistance* with *Damnation*, is a safer Rule for the saving of our Souls, though not for the preservation of our Lives and Estates.

When St. *Peter* drew a Sword to defend his Master, in a way of resisting, and revenging him against the Officers of a lawful Magistrate, he was commanded to *put up his Sword*, and threatned, that *they that use the Sword should perish by the Sword*, Matth. 26. 52. And when some other Disciples would have his consent to *call for fire from heaven* to consume the *Samaritans*, he tells them, *they knew not what Spirit they were of*. The contrary Doctrines are not from the *blessed Jesus*, but the *accursed Jesuits*, and to be abhorred of all good Christians: and yet it is that which you chiefly track, and seek to bring into practice. St. *Aug.* speaking of St. *Peter's* using the *Sword*, and of *Moses* slaying the *Egyptian*, says, *lib.* 22. *chap.* 7. *Contra Faustum Manicheum*; *Uterque Justitiæ regulam excessit*; *& hic fraterno, ille Dominico amore peccavit.*

P. 8. You say, *It is impossible in so short a Treatise as yours is to say the tenth part of what is to be said, to shew how intolerable that Doctrine* (of Passive Obedience) *is, and how con-*

contrary to the Goſpel, and the Law of the Land. If you had not ſaid the tenth part of what you have, to ſhew how intolerable the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* is, and that it is contrary to the Goſpel and the Law of the Land; you had ſaid too much, as will appear hereafter. Chriſtianity indeed doth not enſlave us, or deveſt us of the Rights and Priviledges that we have; but it teacheth us to exchange them for better. *Terreſtria non eripit, qui regna dat Cæleſtia.* Sedulius. And it aſſures us, that *he that loſeth his life for Chriſts ſake, ſhall ſave it,* Matth. 16. 25.

P. 8. To prove your Aſſertion from the Goſpel, you commend your Reader to Dr. *Hammond*'s Paraphraſe on 1 *Cor.* 7. 21, 22, 23. which ſpeaks little to your purpoſe; it concerns onely ſuch Chriſtians as were in bondage to heathen Maſters. —*That if they could by any fair and regular means attain their freedom, they might make uſe of them, and prefer Liberty before Servitude; which they might have done if they had never been Chriſtians: And that they who have obtained Liberty, and were formerly Servants to Heathen, ſhould not ſell themſelves again, and revert to that condition of ſlavery, but preſer Liberty rather.* But what is this to that Expoſition which he gives us of *Rom.* 13. in theſe words? —*Then for the Judicial Laws, that great ſupreme one ought to*

be taken into ſpecial care of all Chriſtians, that of Obedience to the Supreme Powers rightly eſtabliſhed and conſtituted, although they be not Jews *but* Romans. *Nothing in Chriſtianity ought to be pretended or made uſe of to give any man immunity from Obedience, which from all Subjects, of what quality ſoever, Apoſtles, Teachers,* &c. *is due to thoſe to whom Allegiance belongs* (*contrary to the* Gnoſticks *Doctrine and Practice,* Jude 8.) *but on the contrary, every perſon under government, of what Rank ſoever, is to yield ſubjection to his Supreme Governour legally placed in that Kingdom, as to him that hath commiſſion from God, as every Supreme Magiſtrate muſt be reſolved to have, though he be a Heathen.* Verſ. 2. *From which Divine Commiſſion it is directly conſequent, that he that makes any violent reſiſtance or oppoſition to the Supreme Magiſtrate, oppoſeth that violence to Gods Commiſſion, and ſhall accordingly receive that puniſhment which belongs to ſo ſacrilegious a Contumacie; the wrath and judgment of God belongs to it.* With more to that purpoſe.

As to St. *Paul*'s dealing with the Centurion, *Acts* 22. 25. the Apoſtle neither ſpake nor acted any thing that tended to reſiſtance; he onely asked the Centurion, *Is it lawful for you to ſcourge a man that is a* Roman, *and uncondemned?* In like manner, *Acts* 16. 39. *Paul* and *Silas* onely made the Officers ſenſible of their

their wrongful imprisonment. It is strange that any man that pretends to *Sense* or *Religion*, should wrest these places to the countenancing of *Resistance*, when the Doctrine which Christ and his Apostles taught and practised, and which we have received from this great Apostle of the Gentiles, is so opposite to it. *Maledicta Glossa quæ corrumpit Textum.* What consequence is this? St. *Paul* and *Silas* got their liberty by *pleading their Priviledges*; Therefore it is lawful to *resist*. It is against the yielding of *Passive Obedience* to the Supreme Magistrate, that you urge it.

P. 9. *As for the Laws of the Land, that Doctrine* (you say) *overthrows* Magna Charta, *Chap.* 29. That Chapter says thus: **No Freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseized of his Freehold and Liberties,** &c. **but by lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land.** But if any or all these should happen to some particular man, will that justifie a *Rebellion?* When a Roman Emperour gave a Senator a Sword, saying, *If I rule well, use it for me; if otherwise, against me*; was it intended think you by him that gave, or him that received it, that an Act of *Violence*, or *a High Court of Justice* should be employed against that Emperour upon every Transgression? (the Apostles rule of Submis-

sion *non obstante*). It is a sad return of Gratitude, when Christian Princes have granted the greatest Priviledges and Immunities to their Subjects, that they should on all occasions be requited with Affronts and Severities.

P. 9. and 10. You propose the Case of a Pursevant slain in the execution of a Warrant out of the High-Commission-Court; and then adde, *Any man may see that my Discourse doth not descend to such petty matters as false Arrests.* True: it is evident enough you flie at a more noble Game, the *resisting of Princes* and their *lawful Successors.* I pray speak out: When King *CHARLES* of blessed memory came to the House of Commons to demand *Justice* against the five Members, against whom he had *Articles of Treason* prepared, was it lawful for the Parliament to make resistance, and to raise that War that cost so many thousand lives, and millions of money, on pretence of a *breach of their Priviledges*, rather than to deliver them up to a *legal Trial?* I doubt the man that killed the Pursevant did not well know whether his Authority were lawful or not; if he did, he might more safely have submitted, than drawn the bloud of an unadvised man. But however, *Currat Lex*, let the Law have its course; and if by accident it be interrupted, or overflow its just bounds,

bounds, we may not for that cause dam up the *Fountain.*

P. 11. You say *you have honestly pursued the end of our Saviours coming into the world,* Luke 9. 56. *Not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.* But doubtless, whereas the *Meekness, Obedience,* and *Patience,* which the Gospel teacheth, hath destroyed one mans life, (and that our Saviour assures us is not *lost,* but *exchanged* for a better) the Doctrine of *Resistance* and *Rebellion* hath destroyed thousands. And you may see plainly by the Context, our Saviour commends *Passive Obedience,* and not *Resistance,* as the means to *preserve mens lives.* You rather pursue another end, which our Saviour mentions, not as a proper effect of his Gospel, but of the malice of men against it, *Matth.* 10. 24. *I came not to send peace, but a sword.*

You say, *p.* 11. That *the Laws of the Land have taken particular care of those who are put on an inevitable necessity of defending themselves,* &c. How far a man that is assaulted, and put on an inevitable necessity of defending himself against the injuries of private men, is one thing; and what he may do against his Prince, (of whom you seem to discourse) is another: In this case we may apply that in *Rev.* 13. 10. *He that killeth with the sword, shall be killed with the sword. This is the pa-*

tience and faith of the Saints.

P. 11. *This Doctrine* (of Paſſive Obedience) you ſay, *quite alters the Oath of Allegiance,* which requires you to be *obedient to all the Kings Majeſties Laws, Precepts, and Proceſs proceeding from the ſame.* I do not find thoſe words in that Oath, as ſet forth by King *James*: but I find what you overlook (*viz.*) *I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majeſtie, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and him and them will defend to the utmoſt of my power, againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever.* And thus I find more particularly in a Declaration (which I believe our Author hath ſubſcribed) thus amplified: *I do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King: And that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſionated by him.*

P. 11. After a large Preface little to your purpoſe, telling us, That *the Church of* England *reſerves her Faith entire for the Canonical books of Scripture* (which I hope you alſo do,) and that *ſhe divides her Reverence between the Fathers and the firſt Reformers of this Church, who partly were Martyrs that died for the Proteſtant Religion, and partly Confeſſors that afterward ſetled it.* (And now to the buſineſs.)

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How much the Fathers would have been for a Bill of Exclusion (you say) *we have seen already.* No, not one word of it from the beginning, nor I believe any mention of it from one Argument tending to it to the end of the Book, from any of the *Fathers*, as will shortly appear. But what say our *Martyrs*, *Confessors*, and *Reformers*? First he tells us what some men would have perswaded King *Edward* to do, if they could have had their wills confirmed by Act of Parliament: *They shewed what they would have done if they could*, saith our Author: They never spake such *bad English* as our Author doth in his *Taunton-Dean* Proverb, *Chud eat more Cheese an chad it*; which being interpreted, is, *We would rebel if we had power.* The Duke of *Northumberland* indeed did cause the Lady *Jane Gray*'s Title to be proclaimed, but here the Bishops must be the men that were chiefly engaged in that designe of *Exclusion*: whereas I read not that any of them were ever consulted with, nor ever declared any thing to that purpose; but in their joynt and most solemn Writings enjoyn the clean contrary, as shall now appear.

P. 12. *The Bishops in Queen* Elizabeth's *time, to whom, under God and that Queen, we owe the settlement of our Church, concurred to the making of that Statute which makes it High-*

Treaſon in her Reign, and forfeiture of Goods and Chattels ever after, in any wiſe to hold or affirm, That an Act of Parliament is not of ſufficient force and validity to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the deſcent, limitation, inheritance, and government thereof. 13 Eliz. *chap.* 1. But our Author never conſidered the grounds and reaſons of that Act; *Ex malis moribus bonæ Leges*; it was the iniquity of thoſe times, and the traiterous practices of the Queen of *Scots*, which gave occaſion to that Statute: for there were many Pamphlets written by *Saunders* and the Author of *Doleman*, which deni'd the Title of Queen *Elizabeth*, and proclaim'd her an Uſurper; and the Queen of *Scots* made actual claim to the Crown of *England*; ſhe aſſumed the Arms of *England* and other *Regalia*; and by her Confederates endeavoured to raiſe a Rebellion, and conſpired againſt the life of the Queen; for which cauſes ſhe was condemned, as may appear by her Sentence which was paſſed upon her, *viz. That divers things were compaſſed and imagined within this Kingdom of* England *with the privity of the ſaid Queen, who pretended a Title to the Crown of this Kingdom, and which tended to the hurt, death, and deſtruction of the Royal Perſon of our Soveraign Queen.* *Cambdens Eliz.* p. 464. (*Leiden* 1625.) Such practices gave occaſion to that Statute, to

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prevent the Mischiefs that might befal Queen *Elizabeth* and the Nation. And that Statute consists of many heads: As first, **Whoever should compass, imagine, devise, or intend the death or destruction, or any bodily harm tending to death, destruction, or wounding of the Royal person of the Queen, or deprive or depose her of or from the Stile, Honour, or Kingly name of the Imperial Crown of this Realm,** &c. **or levy War against her Majesty within this Kingdom or without, or move any Strangers to invade this Kingdom or** Ireland, &c. **or shall maliciously publish and declare, by any printing, writing, word, or sayings, that our Soveraign Lady during her life is not, or ought not to be Queen of this Realm,** &c. **or that any other person or persons ought of right to be King or Queen of the same, or that our said Queen is a Heretick or Schismatick, Tyrant, Infidel, or an Usurper of the said Crown,** &c. **these shall be guilty of High-Treason. Also if any after thirty days from the Session of this Parliament, and in the life of our said Queen, shall claim, pretend, declare, or publish themselves or any other besides our said Queen to have Right or Title to have and enjoy the Crown of** England, **or shall usurp the same, or the Royal Stile, Title, or Dignity of the Crown, or shall affirm that our said Queen hath not right to hold and enjoy the same, such shall be utterly disabled during**

ring their natural lives onely, to have or envoy the Crown or Realm of England in Succession, Inheritance, or otherwise. Then follows the Case of Succession: That if any person shall hold or affirm, that the Common Laws of this Realm, not altered by Parliament, ought not to direct the Right of this Crown, or that our said Queen by the Authority of Parliament is not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient force, &c. as above.

Yet was not the Queen of *Scots* condemned upon the Statute of the 13 of *Eliz.* but on that made in the 27 of her Reign; wherein it was provided, That twenty four persons at least, part being of the Privy Council, and the rest Peers of the Realm, should by the Queens Commission examine such as should make any open Rebellion or Invasion of this Realm, or attempt to hurt the Queens person, by or for any pretended Title to the Crown. In which Commission I find no Bishop save the Archbishop, who at first refused to act: nor when the whole Parliament petitioned for the Execution, do we find that the Bishops (who were denied to vote in case of Bloud) did joyn or were consulted with. And *Cambden* observes, that the same day when the Sentence was pronounc'd against the Queen of *Scots*, it was declared by the Delegates and Judges of the Kingdom, *That that Sentence should derogate*

nothing

nothing from the Right or Honour of James *King of* Scots; *but that he ſhould be in the ſame Eſtate, Order, and Right, as if that Sentence had never been given*, p. 465. So that the whole matter being conſidered, here was no Excluſion of a *Popiſh Succeſſour*, but rather a tacit confirmation of one that was a *Proteſtant*; and conſequently, it muſt be a great *ſlander* on thoſe worthy Biſhops by him named, that they were zealous for ſuch Acts of Excluſion: for the buſineſs of the Queen of *Scots* did concern matters of Treaſon, ſuch as you ſay might exclude her out of the World; as alſo the Reaſons of Sir *Simon d'Ewes* tended to the taking away of her life; and therefore come not home to the Caſe of Succeſſion: nor does Sir *Simon* tell us *whoſe Reaſons* they were; and I ſuſpect them to be the Opinions of ſome *private perſon*, who having ſpoken all-along in the plural number, he diſcovereth himſelf at the end in theſe words; *God I truſt in time ſhall open her Majeſties eyes to ſee their cruel purpoſes*, &c.

P. 18. You ſay (what another hath ſaid before you) That *a Bill of Excluſion is a perfect Courtſhip to theſe Reaſons.* True, if the *Heir apparent* or *preſumptive* were under the ſame circumſtance with that Queen: but 'tis perfect Cruelty to endeavour the like Excluſion of a *Popiſh Succeſſour*, as ſuch onely, not

onely

onely from his *Right*, but out of his *Life*. And now no man elſe needs *turn his fury or reproaches upon thoſe Biſhops*; you have done that ſufficiently.

As for your Proteſtation, *p.* 19. that *if but one Reaſon can be given to prove a Bill of Excluſion to be unlawful, which will be owned to be a Reaſon a week after, and the owners not be aſhamed, you do ſolemnly promiſe to joyn in renouncing thoſe Old Reformers, and readily follow their New Guides and Lights.* The Apoſtle gives you a Reaſon which is of eternal verity, *viz. We may not do evil that good may come of it:* And he aſſures you, that *the condemnation of ſuch as affirm the contrary is juſt*, Rom. 3. 8. And to any but an *Ignoramus*, that of *Dan.* 4. 25. may ſerve as another Reaſon; *The moſt High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and giveth it to whom he will.* To which adde, *If it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, leſt ye be found to fight againſt God*, Acts 4. 39. And for your *renouncing the Old Reformers*, you have done that with the utmoſt ſpite and reproach that all the Wit of a *Julian* or the Malice of a *Colledge of Jeſuits* could invent, as if they had been the Judges and Executioners of the Queen of *Scots* under the Notion of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*. Wherefore I would adviſe our Author to conſider what occaſion he hath given to the Enemies of that Church (where-

of

of I suppose him a *Member*, if not a *Priest*) to *reproach* her: for from this Story of his, no doubt it was, that the scurrilous and Bedlam-Author of the Pamphlet called *Crape-Gownorum* hath thus commented: *It is plain that the Church of* England-*men did hold King-killing, or Queen-killing Doctrine*, (*which is the same thing*); *so that if* Knox, Buchanan, *or* Calvin *first taught the Speculative part, the other* (meaning those Bishops named by our Author) *first put it in practice, and set the fatal president that others followed*, (that is), in the murder of King *Charles* the first; for at that he aims, when he threatneth us to *let* 641 *sleep in Oblivion, lest we awake* 587. intimating, that what was done in the process of that War, (*viz.* that barbarous Murther perpetrated on the Royal Person of *Charles* the First) may be *justified* on *the Principles of our Reformers*. Whatever may be *told in Gath*, and *published in the streets of Askalon*, to make *those Philistims rejoyce*; I cannot permit this diabolical *Slander* to pass without a brand on the *Author* of it here at home; and to vindicate those *Worthies*, and silence our *Adversaries* the *Jesuits*, and to prevent the ill consequents of this *Forgery*, which may stir up the *Phanaticks* of this Nation to act over our former Tragedies.

I shall first relate the matter of fact, and the

the grounds of that *Severity* which was used against that Queen; and shew you the *most deliberate Judgment* of those *Reverend Bishops* in the Case of *Resisting lawful Authority*.

First, As to the matter of fact, it is beyond denial, that the Queen of *Scots* married the Lord *Darly* a Subject to the Crown of *England*, who being slain, (whether by her consent, or not, I will not determine, but) she was questioned by her Subjects for *incontinent living*, the *death of her Husband*, and for *Tyranny*; and was forced to resigne her Crown to her Son, then about thirteen months old; so that she was no longer a Crowned head. After which, she raiseth an Army, and is defeated by *Murray*; and being imprisoned, makes an escape into *England*, where a Council was called to consult how to dispose of her. It was resolved, that to let her pass into *France*, might prove dangerous; and worse to send her back to *Scotland*: And to prevent farther mischief, she should not be dismissed from *England* till she had made satisfaction for the death of her Husband a Subject and Peer of *England*, and for usurping the Arms of *England*, and pretending a Title to the Crown. During her restraint here, she contrives many Plots against the Peace of the Nation; both with *France* by the Duke of *Guise*, and *D'Alva* Governour of the *Netherlands*; and

and at home, by the Dukes of *Northumberland* (to whom she promised marriage) and *Westmoreland*, who raised a Rebellion in the North for her Rescue: both which suffered, the first was beheaded, the last died in Exile. By her instigation a Bull was sent from *Rome*, discharging the Subjects of *England* from their Obedience to the Queen. Then follows the Conspiracy of *Tho.* and *Edw. Stanly*, Sons to the Earl of *Darby*. Several Invations were also made in *Ireland*, to disturb that Kingdom, by the joynt Counsels of the King of *Spain* and Pope *Gregory* the 13th, and a swarm of *Jesuits* are sent into *England*, and contrive with *Throgmorton*, *Paget*, and others, for another Insurrection; which was prevented. The Nobles and Gentry seeing no hopes of Peace through such daily practices, entered into an *Association* to prosecute all those even to death that should attempt any thing against the Queen; and prevailed for a closer restraint of her: which notwithstanding, one *Babington* conveyed Letters between *Her* and *France*, and engaged divers to murther the Queen; which was discovered to Secretary *Walsingham*, as also the manner how the Queen of *Scots* conveyed Letters to the *Spanish Embassador*, and other *Confederates*: whereupon fourteen of them were executed; and in the Parliament convened about that time, *Throg-*

morton,

morton, the two *Pagets*, *Englefield*, *Babington*, *Salisbury*, &c. were proscribed. So that the Nation being continually alarmed with the news of *Invasions*, *Insurrections*, and *Conspiracies*, during the life of that unfortunate Queen, who can blame the Parliament for solliciting the execution of a *Just Sentence*?

Of all men living, our Author ought not to object it, much less to charge the *Bishops* with that (if they had been guilty) for which they are ready now to pronounce them *Papists*, as not consenting to the Exclusion of a *Popish Successor*.

But secondly, what the Judgment of those *Reformers* was concerning the Doctrine of *Resisting lawful Princes* on any pretence, I shall now demonstrate.

P. 103, 104. of his Book, our Author is pleased to *recommend the Homilies of our Church to every bodies reading, as one of the best Books that he knows in the world, next to the Bible*, (as Mr. *Hunt* had done before him). I shall therefore intreat him to judge of the Opinion of our *Reformers* and *Confessors* in point of *Obedience*, out of the *publick Doctrines* set forth by them in that *excellent Book*. In the first Homily *against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion*, they say, *p* 277. If Servants ought to obey their Masters not onely being gentle, but such as be froward, much more ought

ought Subjects to be obedient not onely to their good and courteous, but also to their sharp and rigorous Princes, 1 Pet. 2. 18. And p. 278. It cometh not of Chance or Fortune, nor of the Ambition of Mortal men climbing up of their own accord to Dominion, that there be Kings, Queens, Princes, and other Governours over men being their Subjects; but all Kings, Queens, and other Governours, are specially appointed by the Ordinance of God. P. 279. A Rebel is worse than the worst Prince, and Rebellion worse than the worst Government of the worst Prince that hitherto hath been.----Whatsoever the Prince be, or his Government, it is evident that for the most part those Princes whom some Subjects do think to be very godly, and under whose Government they rejoyce to live, some other Subjects do take the same to be evil and ungodly, and do wish for a Change. If therefore all Subjects that mislike of their Prince should rebel, no Realm should ever be without Rebellion. P. 280. But what if a Prince be evil indeed, and undiscreet, and it is evident to all mens eyes that he is so? I ask again, What if it be long of the wickedness of his Subjects that he is so, shall the Subjects by their wickedness both provoke God for their deserved punishment to give them an evil and indiscreet Prince, and also rebel against him, and withal against God, who for the pu-

nishment of their sins did give them such a Prince? Will you hear the Scripture in this point? God maketh a wicked man to raign, for the sins of the people. Again, God giveth a Prince in his anger, meaning an evil one, and taketh away a Prince in his displeasure, meaning when he taketh away a good Prince for the sins of the people: as in our memory he took away our good Josias King Edward, for our wickedness. Again, God maketh a wise and good King to raign over that people whom he loveth, and who love him. And again, If the people obey God, both they and their King shall prosper.---And for Subjects to deserve through their sins to have an evil Prince, and then to rebel against him, were double and treble evil, by provoking God more to plague them; let us either deserve to have a good Prince, or let us patiently suffer and obey such as we deserve: and whether the Prince be good or evil, let us according to the Scriptures pray for him for his continuance and increase in goodness if he be good, and for his amendment if he be evil.

The Bishops that were their Predecessors, and our first *Reformers* in the days of King *Henry* the Eighth and King *Edward* the Sixth, were of the same judgment, as appears in a Book called *The Institution of a Christian man*, whereof *Cranmer*, *Ridly*, and other *Martyrs* were

were the Compilers. On the Fifth Commandment they say, *Subjects be bound not to withdraw their Fealty, Truth, Love, and Obedience towards their Prince, FOR ANY CAUSE WHATSOEVER; ne for any Cause may they conspire against his Person, ne do any thing towards the hindrance or hurt thereof, nor of his Estate. And by this Commandment they be bound to obey all the Laws, Proclamations, Precepts, and Commandments made by their Princes, except they be contrary to the Commandments of God:* With much more to that purpose. And on the Sixth Commandment, *No Subjects may draw their Swords against their Princes, FOR ANY CAUSE WHATSOEVER IT BE.—— And though Princes, which be the Supreme Heads of their Realms, do otherwise than they ought; yet God hath assigned no Judges over them in this world.* The contrary to this is a Popish Doctrine, who think it cause enough to depose a King, because he is a *Protestant:* and it is a Lesson which some sorts of Protestants have learnt from them, to depose any that is a *Papist.* A Doctrine which all the *Reformed Churches* have hitherto condemned: and yet this is the Sophistry which our Author hath detected, to his own shame, and the honour of those *Worthies* whom he hath reproached: and if our Author's *Politicks* should be em-

braced, Kings would be of all men moſt miſerable: for if they be *Proteſtants*, the *Papiſts* may *depoſe* them; and if they be *Papiſts*, *Proteſtants* may *reſiſt* them; which is *tantamount*.

P. 19. Is a diſcourſe againſt the Oath of Allegiance, which he forms in an *Objection* and *Anſwer*. The *Objection* is this: *You are pre-engaged, and cannot conſent to a Bill of Excluſion; if you do, you are forſworn, having long ſince ſworn Allegiance to the King, his lawful Heirs and Succeſſors.* His Anſwer: *Now though the Lawyers tell us an hundred times,* no man can have an Heir as long as he liveth, *yet this will not overcome that deceitful prejudice which is occaſioned by our common ſpeech.* *Reply.* Yet our Author preſently adds, That *a man and his Heirs may live at once in the ſame houſe, and eat and drink together every day.* I pretend not to the knowledge of *Law-terms*; yet I am confident thoſe Lawyers which penned that Oath did not put it in in vain; nor would they make it *Treaſon to conſpire the death of the Heir of the Crown of England,* if there could be no ſuch perſon in being. One clauſe of that Oath is this: *I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majeſtie, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and him and them will defend to the utmoſt of my power, againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever which*

ſhall

shall be made against his or their persons, their Crown or Dignity, by reason or colour of any such Sentence or Declaration, or otherwise: and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majestie, his Heirs and Successors, all Treasons and treacherous Conspiracies which I shall know or hear of to be against him or any of them. And I do farther swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Position, that Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murthered by their Subjects or any other whatsoever. —And all these things I plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sence and understanding of the same words, without any Equivocation, or mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever, &c. Now let any man judge whether you have not taught the *Jesuits themselves* how to *equivocate*, and to make void that solemn Oath, by affirming *that there can be no such person as an Heir to the Crown while the King is living.*

Your own distinction of an *Heir Apparent* and *Presumptive*, seems a sufficient Confutation of your senseless Assertion. Besides, though it may be true of a *Testamentary Heir*, that he is not actually so till the death of the Testator; yet a *Legal Heir*, upon whom an

Eſtate is intailed, as the Royal Crown of *England* is upon the next in Bloud, is truly an Heir, and ought to inherit. And in this Opinion I am confirmed by the Apoſtle, *Gal.* 4. 1. who ſays, That *though the Heir as long as he is a child*, (*i.e.* as long as his Father liveth) *differeth nothing from a ſervant, yet he is Lord of all:* and if he be a *Son*, or next in Bloud to a Prince whoſe Kingdom is hereditary, then is he his *Heir*, v. 7. as St. *Paul* argues.

You ſeem to grant, that this is *the Law-ſence* of the words *Heirs and Succeſſors* in an Act of Parliament, as in the *Duty of Exciſe granted to the King, his Heirs, and Succeſſors*; *But an Oath of Allegiance* (you ſay) *ought to be conceived in plain words, and in the common ſence of thoſe words.* Which I ſhould think to be that which the Lawyers that penned that Oath, and the Lawgivers that enjoyned it, did intend; and unleſs you will juſtifie *Papiſts* in their *Equivocations*, and *abſolve* them from the obligation of that Oath, it cannot be taken in any other but the Law-ſence. *Well*, (ſay you) *if it be ſo*, (and ſo it muſt be) *let them be ſure to keep it in that ſence in which they have or ſhould take it at ſixteen years of age in the Court-Leet*; viz. I will be true Liegeman, and true faith and troth bear to our Soveraign Lord the King that now is, and to his

his Highneſs Heirs and lawful Succeſſours, Kings and Queens of this Realm of *England*. To which you add this *pitiful* and *worſe than Jeſuitical Evaſion: It is plain to every body, that no one certain or known perſon in the world hath any intereſt at preſent in the Oath of Allegiance beſides his Majeſty that now is.* For which you give this as a Reaſon, which is none at all: *For who ſhall be King or Queen of* England *hereafter, none but God himſelf knows.* And if God, *by whom Kings reign*, had not wonderfully reſtored his Majeſty, we ſhould have had none at this time. But God by a Miracle hath reſtored the right Heir againſt all oppoſition.

Pag. 21. He brings in another Objection againſt the Bill of Excluſion, *fetched from the Common-Prayer* (to which I perceive he is no great Friend): viz. *No Church of-England-man can be for it with a good Conſcience, being to the prejudice of his R. H. becauſe we there pray that God would* proſper him with all happineſs *here and hereafter.* Now by the way, no ſuch words (as *here and hereafter*) are expreſſed, though we grant they are implied under the word *All.* But we eſpecially (though not onely) intend it to that happineſs which flows from the Spirit and grace of God, and may bring him and all the Royal Family to Gods *everlaſting Kingdom*; and as a means

thereunto, that he would *endue them with his holy Spirit, and enrich them with his heavenly Grace.* You say, *No man in the Communion of the Church of* England *prays that Prayer more heartily than you do.* But if you do indeed think him to be a *Julian*, and your self such as those Christians that *said their Prayers backward*, that *prayed him to death*, and *would not so much as desire his conversion*, this would certainly be a Curse in the mouth or heart of any Protestant. And I hope there are no such in the Communion of our Church, though you intimate that they were *all such* in the Primitive Church, and that we should be such also: for *p.* 96. you say, *You find not one single wish among the Antients for* Julian's *conversion, but all for his down-right destruction.* It is a good Rule that, *Pro quibus orandum, pro iis laborandum.* We should by a meek and Christian behaviour, inforce our Devotions: for 'tis *the Prayer of the Righteous man that availeth much.* If we could thorowly inspect the Arguments that prevailed for the reputed defection of that Prince, I believe the unchristian behaviour of those who oppose his Succession, was most cogent. And who knows but our amendment, moderation, and meekness, might yet reclaim him? But to pray coldly without faith, for what you say (*p.*22.) there is *no hope*, and to act contrary to

your

your Prayers, is to beg a denial. And I hope many others pray more heartily than you do: For when we pray God to *indue him with his Holy Spirit*, &c. we pray that he may return to the *Proteſtant Religion*, and not that he may be expoſed to an *invincible Temptation*, and a kind of *neceſſity to extirpate it*, as you maliciouſly accuſe us. Nor are we to diſtruſt the power of divine Grace either to *reſtrain* or *ſanctifie* thoſe whom we pray for; and ſo to limit the Holy One of *Iſrael*, as if he had not *the hearts of Kings in his hand*, or had no rule over the Governours of the world. *Cambden*, p. 5. of his *Remains*, reports, that when *Brithwald* the Monk was troubled about the Succeſſion, the Bloud Royal being almoſt extinguiſhed, he heard a voice ſaying, *The Kingdom of* England *is Gods Kingdom, and God will provide for it.* And why ſhould not we acquieſce in the ſame Divine Providence?

P. 79. You argue againſt a Popiſh Succeſſour *à poſſibili*, becauſe *he may be a Perſecutor.* Some have accounted both our preſent Soveraign and his Father of bleſſed memory ſuch: they ſent the One out of the world with an *Exit Tyrannus*, though the meekeſt and moſt gracious Prince in the world; and what the effects of a *Bill of Excluſion*, as ſome men would manage it, may be, is dreadful to conſider.

sider. But as you suppose the *Popish Successour may* be; so I suppose he *may not* be a Persecutor. And for the proof of this, I appeal to your Friend *Plato Redivivus*, who in *p.* 207. gives an instance in the Prince of *Hanover*, who was perverted to the *Roman* Church, went to *Rome* to abjure *Heresie*; and returning home, lived and governed as he did before, without the least animosity of his Subjects for his *change*, or any endeavour to introduce any to his *Government* or *People*; and dying the last Spring, left the peaceable and undisturbed Rule of his Subjects to the next Successour his Brother the Bishop of *Osnaburg*, who is a Protestant. Now (as *Solomon* says) *there is no new thing under the Sun*, but *what hath been may be*; and if we do our duties, we may be the more confident of the success of our Prayers, That God will *endue the Royal Family with his Holy Spirit*, &c.. You do very naughtily therefore to represent the case as *impossible* and *desperate*, as if God himself could not or would not order this great affair for the good of his People. I am almost perswaded, that the sins of the Nation to which this clamour against *Succession* hath given occasion, by planting in the hearts of too many, malice, bitter enmity, revilings, and even abhorrence of one another, is a greater evil than we are yet like to suffer from a Popish Successor.

And

And did we think he might prove to be *such a one* as he is (too boldly) represented, we do very ill to exasperate and imbitter his Spirit, by such Libels, Slanders, and such unlawful Contrivances as in all probability made *Julian* worse than he would have been. I therefore heartily wish that you had spared that *Grinning Complement* (to use your term, which you borrowed from Dr. *Howel* in *his life of Julian*) *That if it stand with his H.'s good liking, he would enjoy that Religion to the greatest advantage, and take his fill of it at the Fountain-head.* I shall rather pray he may never go thither: There are too many Crowned heads at the devotion of his Holiness already. Such Complementers I am sure do not pray heartily that God would *prosper him with all happiness here and hereafter.* What? to perswade him to *cast himself down over some precipice*, as *Curtis* did, *p.* 19. of *the Character of a Popish Successour?* or like that mentioned by our Author to be presented to *Cromwel*, p. 87. that *to kill himself is no Murther?* If it be *out of the abundance of the heart that the mouth speaketh*, none but men of murtherous intentions will so speak.

P. 22. You are *throughly satisfied* (you say) *that the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy are Protestant Oaths* (*as a great Assertor of our Religion and Laws* (*now with God*) *thought fit*

fit to term them). Sir *W. J.* I confeſs, was a good Lawyer, but how he could call them *Proteſtant Oaths* I know not. * The Oath of Allegiance was long before the name of *Proteſtants* came up; King *James* onely enlarged it, and appointed it to be taken of all in Court-Leets at Sixteen Years of age, as you have obſerved. Nor is there any new thing at all in that Oath, more than what all Proteſtant Princes do generally require of their Subjects. And as for that of *Supremacie*, it is one of the ancient *Regalia* of the Kings of *England*, which our Parliaments ſtill defended againſt the encroachments of the Pope; ſo that the thing was in being long before King *Henry* the Eighth brought it into a form: and he was yet a *Popiſh Prince* when he did it. And I have read, that Queen *Mary* her ſelf would hardly part with the acknowledgement of her Supremacie. It is not peculiar then to Proteſtants; or if it were, I am afraid that ſome who term themſelves the *true Proteſtants* would be found no great Friends to it: For there are many other Sects, as well as the Anabaptiſts, who are now called *ſound Proteſtants*, refuſe it: And the late Sanctions were intended equally againſt them all. I agree with you, that we are all bound by them

* See L. *Cooks* Reports *N.* 7. *fol.* 6. and *fol.* 7. in *Calvins* Caſe. And his Inſtitutes *Stil.* 94. and 259.

them to endeavour in our place to *keep out Poperie*; but not by *Rebellion*, and the bringing in of *Confuſion*.

As to what you ſay of *twiſting a Popiſh Intereſt with theſe Oaths, as* Julian *endeavoured to entangle the Chriſtians*. There are matters more pertinent, and more fully related by St. *Gregory Nazianzene* than by you---- "There "was (ſaith he) an Anniverſarie-day where- "in the Emperour beſtowed Donatives of "Gold on his Souldiers, when at the ſame "time he had provided Fire, Frankincenſe, "and ſeveral perſons to perſwade the Soul- "diers to kindle the Incenſe, as an ancient Rite, "and more becoming the Imperial Dignity. "By ſuch arts and perſwaſions, many of the "inconſiderate Souldiers were circumvented, "and kindled the Frankincenſe: but, at their "return and feaſting together, they drank "to each other, and with Eyes lifted up, and "uſing the Sign of the Croſs, they made men- "tion of Chriſt. Whereupon one of their "Companie ſaid, *What ſtrange thing is this! "Do ye call on Chriſt after you have denied "him?* At which they being aſtoniſhed, ſaid, "*How have we denied him? what is your mea- "ning?* He anſwered, *By throwing Frankin- "cenſe into the Fire, which is a denial of Chriſt.* "Whereat leaping up ſpeedily from their "Feaſt, they ran forth as ſo many diſtracted "men

" men into the Market-place, proclaiming, *We*
" *are Christians, we are Christians in our hearts.*
" *Let all men hear us, and God above all, to whom*
" *we live, and to whom we will die. We have not*
" *broken our Covenant with thee, O Christ our Sa-*
" *viour, nor abjured our blessed Profession. If our*
" *Hands have offended, our Minds are not guilty,*
" *It was not the Gold, but the Emperour's fraud*
" *that circumvented us: We have put off im-*
" *piety, having been purged in bloud.* Then
" hasting to the Emperour, and with great
" resolution casting their Gold at his Feet,
" said, *We have not receiv'd a Donary, O Empe-*
" *rour, but a Condemnation: You called us not to*
" *receive marks of Honour, but a brand of Igno-*
" *miny: Let your Souldiers receive such Lar-*
" *gesses; slay and sacrifice us to Christ, to whose*
" *Empire onely we submit our selves. Revenge*
" *one fire with another, and reduce us to dust*
" *for the dust that we have cast into the fire:*
" *Cut off those hands which we have unhappily*
" *stretched out, and those Feet that carried us*
" *to it. Give your Gold to such as may not re-*
" *pent the receiving it: Christ alone sufficeth us,*
" *whom we value above all things.* Having
" said thus, and informing others of the fraud,
" and exhorted them to recover themselves
" out of this snare, and satisfie Christ even
" with their Bloud: The Emperour, though
" highly provoked, would not make a pub-
" lick

" lick slaughter of them, who as much as in " them lay were desirous of it ; he comman- " ded them to be banished. Methinks here is much of the resolution of the *Thebæan* Legion, who voluntarily offered themselves to death, rather than have the guilt of kindling Incense, though without any evil intention, at the command of the Emperour. From whence I gather, that these *Heroick Christians* thought themselves under the same obligation in *Julian*'s time, as the *Thebæans* did in that of *Maximian*. Which is your [illegible], such an *errour* in your foundation, as we shall see to enfeeble the whole Fabrick. And here you may be instructed what you ought to say and do, *when a Prince* (as you phrase it) *shall put a border of Popery about his Picture, which you would fain honour*; namely, as these noble Confessors did ; *We reverence your Person and Authoritie ; we will fight your Battles, and follow your Commands ; but if you will draw us to Idolatry, (though by the Laws we might resist) we will rather die at your Feet than do either.* This is the *Faith and Patience* of those exemplarie Souldiers : and this may serve also to free you from those afflicting thoughts which had almost made you to forget a *passage of great consequence which riseth up against all that you have said*, delivered by St. *Augustine* on Psal. 124. to this effect :

That

That the Christian Souldiers served under this Heathen Emperour; and where their Religion was not concerned, made conscience of obeying him; but where it came to the Cause of Christ, there they made as much conscience of disobeying him. True, they would not obey him, but neither would they rise up against him, *though* (as you take for granted) *they had the Law on their side.* They would lose their Lives rather than offend *God*, or rebel against their *Emperour:* which is the very thing that St. *Augustin* perswades, having shewn that Servants must obey their froward Masters: *Quod de domino ac servo dixi, hoc de Regibus intelligite*; commending *Julians* Souldiers, who for the sake of their *Master in Heaven*, did serve their *Earthly master.*

P. 26. You would have *the Reader take notice, that the whole Conteſt between* Julian *and those Christians was purely on the score of Religion, and not from any lawless and ungovernable humour.* And certainly such *lawless* and *ungovernable humours* as you mention, did no way become the Christian Religion: for that instructs us to practice *meekness* and *forbearance*; *not to avenge our selves, but to give place to wrath*; *not to speak evil of Dignities, or curse the Rulers of the people.* Whereas you present them under such a black Character, as would make some

ſome believe that *they* were the *Apoſtates* and *Perſecutors*, and not *Julian*. They are almoſt your own words, *p.* 66. "For how do "they treat the Emperour, reproaching him, "ruffling him, vexing every Vein in his Roy- "al Heart, ſaying all their Prayers backward, "and calling down vengeance upon his head-- "dancing and leaping for joy at his death, "and inſulting over his Memory; and but "for the name of Chriſtians, he had better "fallen among Barbarians: and when he of- "ten put them in mind of their Chriſtia- "nitie-- they call him by the bloudieſt names "of the Devil, for telling them they muſt "not avenge themſelves, nor render evil for "evil, but pray for and wiſh well to thoſe "that injure and perſecute them: and tell "him he muſt not think to drive all men up "to the top and Pinacle of Virtue; for there "are ſeveral Commands in the Goſpel which "are no more than Counſels of perfection, "which bring Honour and Reward to them "that keep them; but to thoſe that do not "keep them, no manner of danger at all. *Pudet hæc Opprobria, &c.* I am ſorry to hear that diſtinction applied to the practice of thoſe Vertues which do more eſpecially diſcriminate Chriſtians, and ſhew them to be of a more *excellent ſpirit* than other men: For we need ſuch graces as theſe in our daily con-

verſation; and *what do we more than others, if we onely be kind and loving to them that are ſo to us?* Yet this diſtinction of *Counſels* and *Precepts* will be but a ſorry excuſe for ſuch as neglect thoſe Duties enjoyned *Matth.* 5.44. *&c.* If theſe and ſuch-like are *Counſels*, and we may do as the *Julian Chriſtians* are ſaid to do, the deſign of the Goſpel is quite another thing than what all the learned and ſerious profeſſors of it in all Ages have believed and practiſed: *Non tali auxilio aut defenſoribus iſtis Chriſtus egit.* I have heard of ſome that have turned the *Goſpel* into *Burleſque*; but it is more ſtrange, that one whom I ſuppoſe a *Miniſter of the Goſpel* ſhould make the grand deſign of it *Ridicule.*

P. 26. *As for the Souldiers fighting under* Julian *againſt the* Perſians *or any common enemy, and obeying the word of Command, when they received his Pay; it is ſuch a low part of Honeſty, that our Author would have done it himſelf, for his Pay.* But he that would have fought for *Julian*, will ſcarce ſit down quiet under a *Popiſh Prince*, which he thinks to be ten times worſe than a *Julian*; and probably would rejoyce as much at ſuch a *ſlippery trick* as was ſhewed to *Julian* in *Perſia*, as (he ſaies) thoſe Chriſtians did that lived under him. For why are theſe things *propounded* and *applauded*, but to commend them as examples to the

preſent

preſent Generation? But I hope we ſhall not have many ſuch *Reformado's*.

You ſay, p. 26. *Every body knows how the Church was rent in ſunder by* Arianiſm; *And there might be too much ſtiffneſs and rigidneſs on the other hand about words, for ought I know: but miſerably rent it was; which gave great advantage to* Julian *againſt the Chriſtian Religion.* I know not what our Author means in excuſing the *Arians*, and charging the *Orthodox* with too much ſtiffneſs. What more dangerous Errour could there be, than to oppoſe the *Deity of Chriſt*, and *deny the Lord that bought them?* In ſuch a Caſe, and when almoſt the whole world was turned *Arian*, the *Orthodox* could not be too ſtout and reſolute: and if there were ſo good an Effect of a bad Cauſe, as *the Union of Chriſtians*, under *Julian*; I wiſh our fears of what you call *a greater evil* might have the like effect on us, whoſe Diviſions have not ſo great a cauſe as abjuring the Deity of our Saviour was. And he that ſhall extenuate that cauſe of diſſention, as if inconſiderable, and but *a miſtake about words*, as our Author (after Mr. *Baxter*) hath done, and yet aggravate the grounds of Diviſion among our ſelves, as if the *Scrupuloſity* which the *Diſſenters* ſo pertinaciouſly defend, were (as Mr. *Hunt* ſaies) *from God*, hath quite out-run the *Men of Rippon* for Contradictions

dictious: Zeal like another Satyr, he can blow hot and cold; he is extremely hot in *Punctilio's*, and as cold in *Fundamentals*; he ſerves ſome other Intereſt than that of *Peace*, *Truth*, or *Piety*.

P. 27. *Now what did the Chriſtians do? Did the Orthodox go and ſide with* Julian, *to revenge the injuries which they received from the* Arians *in* Conſtantius's *time? or make uſe of* Julians *favour which he ſhewed in reſtoring them, to cruſh their brethren which diſſented from them? No, there was no ſeeking to him by either ſide: Onely the* Donatiſts *of* Africk *complemented him, and received ſome ſmall favour from him.* The deſign of *Julian's* recalling the Orthodox Biſhops was, as Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians affirm, either to caſt an Odium on *Conſtantius*, who had baniſhed them; or to daſh them and the *Arians* and *Donatiſts* againſt each other, thereby to * ruine both; or at leaſt that they might not find any opportunity of diſturbing him, being wholly imployed in the deſtruction of one another. Two or three things I ſhall briefly demonſtrate, on occaſion of this Paragraph.

* *Eo modo nomen Chriſti de terris perire putavit, ſi Sacrilegas diſſentiones libras eſſe permiſit. St.* Aug. Epiſt. 166.

1. That the *Donatiſts* and *Arians* were united among themſelves againſt the Orthodox. 2. That they courted *Julian's* favour

to

to ſtrengthen their Faction againſt the Orthodox. And 3. They did commit greater outrages where they had power, than *Julian* himſelf.

As to the firſt, *Donatus* himſelf wrote a book *de Spiritu Sancto*, agreeable to the Doctrine of *Arius*, as St. *Hierome* hath obſerved: the *Macedonians* alſo, who, as St. *Ambroſe* obſerves, blotted out of their books that of St. *John*, *God is a Spirit*, joyned with them. See St. *Ambroſe de Spiritu Sancto*, lib. 3. cap. 11.

Secondly, They courted *Julian*'s favour, and got a Toleration, by their flattering Petitions, applauding him as a man *with whom alone Juſtice did reſide*. And in truth, all that hath been ſaid in favour of a *Popiſh Succeſſour*, comes ſhort of what they ſaid in favour of *Julian*. And whereas the *Orthodox* lookt on this Indulgence of the Emperour as a deſigne that would prove fatal to Chriſtianity; for as St. *Auguſtine* ſays, *Quæ pejor mors animæ, quam libertas erroris?* There is no death ſo evil as the licenſing of error, which is the deſtruction of the Soul: Yet the *Donatiſts* on the contrary are loud in their Acclamations to *Julian* as a moſt gracious Prince; and when he was dead, would, if it had been poſſible, have *prayed him alive again*. And to ingratiate themſelves yet more, they pull down the

Cross which *Constantius* had set up in publick places to the honour of Christ, and set up *Julians Image* in its place. And by how much he was more severe against the Catholicks, so much the more they applauded him: nor would he have done so much Mischief as he did, had not they sollicited him by their frequent and fawning Petitions. Such Orthodox Bishops as were famous for Learning, were all silenced: *Athanasius* indeed returned to *Alexandria*, but was presently banished again by their means, who informed the Emperour that *Athanasius* had baptized many Noble Persons, to the great disgrace of *Julian*'s Empire and Religion. See *Baronius*'s Annals, *Anno Christi* 362. *p.* 115. *Tom.* 4. Mogunt. So that *Athanasius*, St. *Basil*, and St. *Gregorie*, *Eugerius Antiochenus*, and both the *Apollinares*, were banished and persecuted by means of the Arians. St. *Augustine* calls *Julian*, *Desertor Christi & inimicus*, an Apostate from Christ, and enemy to his Church: but *vester Julianus*, so great a friend to the *Donatists*, that he was wholly theirs.

Julian's affection to *George* an *Arian Bishop*, whose Writings he earnestly desired, intending probably to make use of them against the *Orthodox*, is recorded by himself in his Epistles, and was made known by setting up him in the place of *Athanasius*, as he gene-

generally did *Arians* in the room of the *Orthodox*. And *Baronius*, p. 117. ſpeaking of the *Catholicks*, ſaies, *In quos converſus eſt furor Gentilium, Arianorum, pariter & Judæorum:* they agreed with the moſt oppoſite parties againſt the *Catholicks*; *Jews*, *Gentiles*, and *Arians*. Perhaps you may give ſome credit to what is ſaid by Mr. *Baxter's Hiſtory of Councils enlarged*. *The Arians poſſeſt Conſtantine* with hard thoughts of *Athanaſius*: *And it could not be expected that* Julian *ſhould countenance the beſt, when* Conſtantius *had done ſo much againſt them, and got moſt of the Churches headed with* Arian *Biſhops*. So that *Julian* maintained divers of the Leaders of the *Factions* as his Favourites and Penſioners, to balance the *Orthodox*, that they might be in a continual *hurry*, and find no *eſtabliſhment*, but *ſuffer as evil doers*, and the *cauſers of Diviſion*, when they onely aſſerted the *Evangelical Doctrine*, as well againſt the *Arians* as *Pagans*.

Rogatianus and *Pontius*, two *Donatiſts*, in a Petition of theirs to *Julian*, ſtile him *the onely Aſſertor of publick libertie, from whom alone Juſtice and Clemencie could be hoped for*. Than which flatteries, St. *Auguſtine* ſays, *Nil injuſtius, nil pernitioſius?* Their words were, *Quod apud eum ſola juſtitiam haberet locum*, Epiſt. 166. that he would do nothing but what was juſt. The *Catholicks* wondered (as well they might)

might) that the *Donatists* should be so short-sighted, as not to perceive that *Julian* was striking at the very root of Christianity; of which they often minded them, and gave them this plain Demonstration: *That by the same Edict by which they were indulged, the Worship of Idols was injoyned*; and the Devil and they were let loose together, to compass the Earth, and make Proselytes to their Party. *Tunc reddidit* (*Julianus*) *Basilicas Donatistis, quando Templæ Dæmoniis*, Aug. Epist. 166. Optatus, l. 2. p. 54. *Eo modo putans Christianum nomen de terris posse perire, si unitati Ecclesiæ de quâ lapsus fuerat, invideret, &c. hæc erat ejus prædicanda justitia.* Yet when *Julian* was dead, and *Jovian* a *Catholick* Emperour succeeded, the *Donatists* bewailed his death, and often wished that their good Protector were alive again: *Julianum ab inferis excitaretis.* St. *Aug. ubi supra.*

As to the third particular, it would fill a Volume to acquaint you what Outrages were committed by the *Donatists* upon the *Orthodox* during *Julian*'s Reign: I shall onely name one or two, that may parallel those which were committed by the *Pagans.* The first shall be from *Optatus*, p. 55. *Felix* and *Januarius*, two *Donatist Bishops* came to the Castle of *Lemelle*, where the *Catholicks* had a Church; which being shut against them, they commanded

manded the Rabble that followed them to pull it down: who preſently got upon the roof and uncovered it; and perceiving the Deacons defending the Altar, they threw down the Tile-ſtones, and ſlew two of the Deacons in the place. In *Thypaſia* a Citie of *Mauritania*, *Albanius Formenſis* and *Felix Idicrenſis*, with their bloudy Companions, aſſaulted an Aſſembly of the *Catholicks* while they were at their Devotions; and driving them out of the Church, ſlew and wounded a great part of them, without reſpect of Sex or Age: The Bread of the Conſecrated Euchariſt they threw to their Dogs; which having eaten it, by the Judgment of God grew mad, and fell on their Maſters, renting ſome of them in pieces: They ſold the Conſecrated Chalices to Women for vile uſes, or to the Heathen for the ſervice of their Gods; pulling down the Altars; and burnt the books of the Holy Scriptures. *Felix* one of their Leaders deflowered a Virgin that had a little before owned him for her Spiritual Father. None of the Heathen committed greater Outrages than ſome of their Biſhops. And by their inſtigation, *Julian* ſhut up their Church-doors. *Honorius* the Emperour poſted them for it, and cauſed an Edict to be ſet up in publick places as a Memorial, *Quo omnibus innoteſcat, & Catholicæ conſidentiæ conſtantia, &*

Dona-

Donatistarum desperatio & fucata perfidia; of the constancie of the *Catholicks*, and the baseness of the *Donatists* in making use of *Julian*'s power to oppress them. These practices gave occasion to *Ammianus Marcellinus* to say, No Beasts were more cruel to Christians, than they were to one another. And they who shall close with Usurpers and Persecutors to favour and support their Faction against a true Church, deserve to be stigmatized as those Donatists were, *In perpetuam rei memoriam.*

7 P. 27. of the Alexandrian Synod, *Zozomen* (lib. 5. cap. 11.) gives us a better account. You are ready to catch at every thing that may make for a Toleration of *Schism* and *Heresie*, and therefore mention their Agreement not to use those terms which might puzzle ordinary understandings, and not on every occasion in Popular Orations, but in disputes against the Heretieks that denied the *Consubstantiality* of the Son and Holy Ghost. But you omit their confirmation of the *Nicene* Council, which *Zozomen* there names, (*viz.*) *That* Athanasius *and* Eusebius *having assembled the Bishops of divers Cities, did confirm the Decrees of that Council, and confessed that the Son and the Holy Ghost were consubstantial with the Father; and these they named the Trinity; and that they desired onely that the words* ἐκ *and* ἀγένητον *might not be used at that time,*

time, ἐξ ἀγρίας ὥρας, *unſeaſonably to diſturb the Church, and continue ſtrife and diſputes: but when the errours of* Sabellius *came in their way, they ought to refute them.* However, it were well if the *Diſſenters* would make the ſame uſe which you ſay the *Chriſtians* did, (eſpecially having once been inſlaved by one as bad as *Julian* already) *i.e.* to be *united with the Orthodox:* this might be a means not onely to ſecure us from our fears of a *Popiſh Succeſſor,* but alſo what may prove as deſtructive, thoſe dangerous *Hereſies* which when our *Succeſſion was interrupted* did over-run the Land, and brought all things Sacred and Civil into Confuſion.

You conclude your Preface thus: *I have been as careful in the Citations as ever I was in telling Money; and can onely ſay as they uſually do in that caſe, I hope it is all right: and if it ſhould chance in any one particular to prove otherwiſe, am ready to make it good.* I have not yet time to account over your Money; I fear it will fall ſhort of the value you pretend it to be: for at firſt view, I perceive the metal is baſe and counterfeit, and intended to put a Cheat on the common ſort of Chriſtiſtians, who are not well acquainted with ſuch *Brimigems.* Beſides, a great part of it is unreaſonably clipt; and though you profeſs your ſelf ready (as to particular Quotations) I

fear

fear you will never be able to make just satisfaction as to the *Summa Totalis*, i.e. you can never make good your designe, *That it is lawful for Christians to resist their Princes on pretence of Religion.* But to ease you of your *afflicting thoughts*, at present I shall take my leave of you, desiring you well to meditate on the following story. — *Rodolphus* Duke of *Suevia* swore Allegiance to *Henry* the Fourth: Pope *Hildebrand* absolves him of his Oath, being perswaded by some of the Popes Clergie to a Revolt. After which, he never prospered; and by Gods just judgment, his right hand, with which he swore, gangren'd, and was cut off. Whereupon, he told some of those Bishops that had disswaded him from his Allegiance, *This is the hand that was lifted up when I swore Fidelity to my Emperour, which is now justly cut off for my Perjury and Rebellion; for which you are to answer who perswaded me to those perfidious practices.* Should I that have taken the Oaths of *Supremacie* and *Allegiance*, and made such a *Declaration* as is above-mentioned, by any Writing renounce the same, and teach others so to do; I should think the loss of that hand which was instrumental in it, a very gentle and easie punishment.

THE

THE CHAPTERS ANSWERED.

An Anſwer to our Author's

CHAP. I.

A ſhort Account of Julian's *Life.*

I Shall not interrupt my Diſcourſe, which is deſigned as a Vindication of the *Loyalty* of the *Primitive Chriſtians*, againſt the falſe, impudent, and impious *Calumnies* of *this Author*, with a *Hiſtory of* Julian's *Life*, which I intend in a more full and impartial Relation by it ſelf. It ſhall therefore ſuffice to obſerve here with our Author, *p.* 9. That *Julian charged the people that they ſhould injure none of the Chriſtians, nor reproach them, nor draw them to ſacrifice againſt*

gainſt their wills. So that the violencies offered to the *Chriſtians*, were more from the *inſolencie of the Heathen*, than any *Law* made by *Julian*, as our Author obſerves. And indeed the *Heathen*, even in *Julian*'s time, never acted ſuch Cruelties upon the *Chriſtians*, as the *Arians* and *Donatiſts* did; which made *Ammianus Marcellinus* a Heathen, to ſay, that *no Beaſts were ſo cruel to one another as the Chriſtians were.* And, in a word, if we ſhould grant all that our Author ſays of *Julian*'s perſecuting the *Chriſtians* in this Chapter, and all that he ſays of the *Chriſtians* perſecuting *Julian* in all the reſt, to be true, we might be tempted to think that the *Chriſtians* were the *greateſt Perſecutors.*

An

An Anſwer to our Author's

CHAP. II.

THis Chapter you ſay contains *the ſenſe of the Primitive Chriſtians about his Succeſſion*; of which you ſpeak, p. 19. under theſe two heads: 1. how the *Succeſſion* ſtood, and 2. what *Right* and *Title Julian* had to ſucceed to the Empire. This firſt, I confeſs, you have (but againſt your will) clearly ſtated; and it will be enough to diſcredit all that you ſuggeſt concerning the ſecond; which is, That the Chriſtians would have been willing to ſet aſide his Title, and to have excluded him purely for his Religion; which upon your Reaſons I ſuppoſe the *generalitie of Chriſtians* would never have attempted, though *ſome few* might have been willing enough.

As to the firſt, the reaſon you mention from *Euſebius* is, That *the Throne of the Empire deſcended to* Conſtantine *from his Father, and by the Law of Nature* (which is a divine Law) *was reſerved for his Sons and their Poſteritie, and was to deſcend for ever, as another Paternal Inheritance doth.* And that this is the Law of Nature, you confirm from *Eumenius* a Heathen

then, (and others) who ſays, *It was not the caſual conſent of men, or any ſudden effect of their favour, which made* (Julian) *a Prince; he gained it by being born into the world: which ſeems to me the firſt and greateſt Gift of the Gods.* Now if by the Law of *Nature*, as well as of the *Empire*, *Julian* was to ſucceed; I cannot ſee how the Chriſtians could by their Principles reſiſt him in the adminiſtration of it, without *reſiſting the Ordinance of God.* For this, I have quoted Dr. *Hammond*'s Paraphraſe on *Rom.* 13. 1, 2. &c. and that Saying of *Tacitus*, *That we ought to endure wicked Princes as we do Inundations or Scarcitie, which are of Gods ſending.*

Theſe, you ſay, *p.* 20. are *full and pregnant proofs*; and I think, *ad hominem* cogent: for if, as you obſerve from *Euſebius*, the Empire was to deſcend as other Paternal Inheritances, then it muſt be more unlawful to reſiſt or exclude a Prince from enjoying his Inheritance, than any private perſon. And then ſurely no ſound Chriſtian could have joyned in an *Addreſs* to *Conſtantius* to exclude a perſon appointed as it were by the Voice of God, as you ſay of *Conſtantine* that he *was declared abſolute Emperour by the Army: and long before that, by God himſelf the great King of all*, p. 21. And St. *Auguſtine* ſays the ſame, *viz. God that gave the Empire to* Conſtantine, *gave it to* Julian.

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Onely by the way, I do not think that your θεσμὸς γένους, nor νόμος neither, will, in the ſence of the Greek Fathers, bear your interpretation of the *Law of Nature:* for νόμος is often uſed by Greek Authors for *Cuſtom.* And I believe that Father whom you mention, intended no more than a Right of Succeſſion for two or three Generations; which carried the name of a *Law,* as it doth alſo in our *Common Law,* where *Conſuetudo Lex eſt.* And it is well known, that when the Heirs of the Emperor have been living, the *Roman Souldiers* have created their Emperours out of *Obſcure Families:* but theſe are no Patterns for us Chriſtians to follow, nor for us in this Nation above others. For *William* the Conqueror claimed the Crown not ſo much by his *Sword,* as by *Right of Succeſſion,* (if you will believe the Author of that *Fanatical book* called *The Rights of the Kingdom*) to King *Edward,* whoſe *Kinſman* he was, and *his Heir by Will,* as appears by the Laws of St. *Edward* and *William,* p. 197. So that in this reſpect the *Deſcent* of the Crown of *England* is much more firm and eſtabliſhed than that of the *Empire,* having been continued through more Generations, and confirmed by many Laws, which whoever ſhall infringe, takes off the Government from its Hinges, and leaves all to Confuſion. For when a private Eſtate is

intailed on a man and his Heirs, it is neceſſary that to bar the Heir, and alienate the Eſtate, the original Intail muſt be cut off, and then he that is in poſſeſſion may diſpoſe of the Inheritance to one or more. And perhaps this was the intent of the *Bill for Excluſion*, to make it an Act for the *Diſſolution of Monarchy*, and reduce us to a *Commonwealth* again. And it were better we ſhould ſuffer *ſome Inconveniencies* (if the Will of God be ſo) which yet are uncertain, than againſt the Will of God to do things unjuſt, and draw more certain troubles on our own heads. For in the Conteſt between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, when the firſt alway pleaded the *Right of Deſcent*, the other alleadged the *Acts of Parliaments*; there were infinite troubles, which coſt the lives of above 200000 men, whereof eight were Kings and Princes, forty Dukes, Marqueſſes and Earls, beſides Barons and Gentlemen; and after all, the Kingdom fixed on this Maxime, *Jus Sanguinis nullo Jure dirimi poſſit, i. e.* The Right of Bloud cannot be abrogated by any Law. And the Author of *the Rights of the Kingdom* ſays, that in the days of *Henry* the Third and *Richard* the Firſt, when was a motion of ſome *great men* that a *Baſtard* might inherit, the Parliament at *Merton* cried out, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*, p. 264. Therefore I wonder that the

ſame

ſame Author, p. 98. making a Suppoſition, That if any *one man* of all the *Commons in Parliament* ſhould uſurp the *Crown* with all its dues: (He mentions not the *whole Houſe*, for that hath been done already) *What ſhould I? what may I do?* (ſaith he) and anſwers, *Nothing, but mind my Calling, and attend the Judgment of the higheſt Court that I know, that may command my Body and Judgement much.* It is a Maxime in our Law, That *the King never dies:* The King and his Heirs are looked on in the eye of the Law as an *Individual*; and to prevent *Tumults* and *Diſputes*, they are joyned in moſt of thoſe Acts that concern the Dignity of the Crown and publick Peace; and the Son hath ſometime been Crowned in his Fathers life-time. Yet we plead not *Providence* in the long continuance of the *Succeſſion*, nor the *Law of the Land*, upon which for other matters you lay the ſtreſs of your whole Diſcourſe; but upon the *Law of God*, Deut. 17. 8. where it was ordained as a *Statute of Judgment*, (*i. e.* ſay *Fagius* and *Munſter*, *a firm and immutable Law*, and as the Vulgar, *Sanctum Lege perpetua*) That *IF A MAN DIE WITHOUT CHILDREN, THE INHERITANCE MUST BE GIVEN TO HIS BRETHREN.* And *Ainſworth* from *Solomon Jarchi*, ſays, *The Brother of him that was dead, or his Brothers ſeed, ſhall inherit.* All

this hath been obſerved by the *Law of Nations* where Kingdoms are hereditary, That as it is unjuſt, ſo it hath been always unhappie to alter the Succeſſion; and even in private eſtates, the diſinheriting the right Heir hath been very much condemned and unfortunate.

And yet, (p. 22. you ſay) *the Fathers had the Conſcience to ſet aſide ſuch a Title.* They could not do it with a *good Conſcience,* the thing being in it ſelf *evil*: for as the Law of God forbids to *countenance a poor man in his Cauſe,* ſo doth it alſo to defraud the rich, or *follow a multitude to do evil,* neither to *ſpeak in a cauſe to decline after many to wreſt judgment.* None of us would judge it reaſonable to be deprived of his right contrary to Law; and why then ſhould we think it lawful to deprive another of that right to which we owe the preſervation of our own? *Athenagoras* more clearly ſhews what was the conſent of the Fathers in this caſe: *We pray for your Empire, and that the Son, as it is juſt, may ſucceed in his Fathers Throne.* And yet they both were Pagans. But what would the Conſent of *Fathers,* and the ſenſe of the *primitive Chriſtians* ſignifie againſt the *Decree* and *Laws* of *Heaven*? who cannot more plainly declare his will to us, than by the voice of Nature, by his written Word, by pointing out, as by his finger

finger, in his Providence, in making *Heirs to Kingdoms* as well as *other Eſtates* by a long and legal diſcent: and, as St. *Auguſtine* ſaid, *God that gave the Empire to good* Conſtantine, *gave it alſo to* Julian. So *Tertullian: Inde eſt Imperator, unde & Homo antequam Imperator.*---- And *Irenæus: By whoſe command they were born Men, by his they are ordained Kings.*

And yet all this Crack of the *Fathers* and *Primitive Chriſtians,* and (p. 31.) *the whole Chriſtian world,* produceth nothing but *a flaſh of Rhetorick* from an *Invective* in *Gregory Nazianzen* againſt *Julian*; from which if we appeal to the *ſame Author* in a more *temperate* and *Chriſtian Zeal,* when he delivered himſelf dogmatically to the people committed to his charge, we ſhall find him teaching and exhorting a *different Doctrine* and *Practice* from what is here delivered by him: of which I ſhall ſpeak at large hereafter; and onely note by the way, That the *Oration* was made long after *Julian*'s death: which favoured not very much of *humanity*; and if it were upon occaſion of ſome diſappointment, as is reported, it had as little of *Chriſtianity.* And this will appear a truth, that he did exceed as well in the praiſe of *Conſtantius* the firſt *Arian Emperiour,* as in the diſpraiſe of *Julian,* and the miſrepreſentation of the Chriſtians in his time. All which circumſtances

conſidered, and no other proof produced, our Authour deſerves to do *publick Penance* for abuſing the *Fathers* and *Primitive Chriſtians*, and, as he ſaies, *the whole Chriſtian world*. And yet what can *Gregory* blame in *Conſtantius*, but that which he calls his *Ignorance* or *Miſtake*? not being aware of his Apoſtacie. And it was too unchriſtian to blame the Emperour not onely *for making him a King*, but *keeping him alive*. *This* (you ſay, p. 24.) *is enough to ſhew that* Conſtantius *would never have made* Julian Cæſar *if he had known him to have been ſuch*. And, in my judgment, here is as much ſaid to proye that *Conſtantius* ought to have ſlain him when his Brother *Gallus* was ſlain; Although this was a thing which he repented of in his Death-bed, and would undoubtedly be more unworthy of a *Chriſtian Emperour* to exclude him out of the *life*, than to leave him to a *Succeſſion* that deſcended by inheritance to him. And if it be ſuch *a Bill of Excluſion* that you contend for, I am ſure none of the *Fathers* nor any *good Chriſtian* would ever conſent to it.

P. 24. Is an Exclamation againſt the Emperour, having firſt ſaid that *Conſtantius* did far *excel all other Kings in Wiſdom and Underſtanding*, p. 25. and that he was *led by the Hand of God into every Counſel and Enterprize* (what, in turning *Arian*, and perſecuting *Athanaſius* and other

ther *Orthodox Biſhops*, and putting *Arians* in their ſeats?) *your wiſdom was admired above your power, and again your power more than your wiſdom: but your Piety was valued above them both.* Then he comes to blame the Emperour as the onely ignorant and *inconſiderate perſon*—and *which of the Devils ſtole in along with you at that Conſult?* And yet again, *p.* 26. he ſaies of this firſt *Arian* Emperour, That *he would have parted not onely with his Empire, and all that he had in this world, even his Life it ſelf, for the ſecuritie and ſafetie of the Chriſtian Religion*, &c. And our Author ſaies, that at his death he *ſhewed with much earneſtneſs the concernment he had for the true Religion*, p. 28, 29.

But for ought I yet ſee, *Julian*'s Apoſtacie was not yet known, but he was generally accounted both a *pious* and a *ſtout* man; and therefore his repenting of making *Julian Cæſar* was not on the account of Religion, but for ſome other reſpect, *Julian* having been declared *Auguſtus* by his Souldiers, who often diſpoſed of the Empire, and being then on his march to diſpute the Title with *Conſtantius*; (for hitherto *Julian* kept to the Chriſtian Aſſemblies, and was not known to be a Pagan, as you ſhew from *Ammianus Marcellinus*, p. 28.) *After that* Julian *was declared Emperour, he ſtill feigned himſelf a Chriſtian*;

and though in private he performed his Heathenish Rites, truſting ſome few with the ſecret, yet he publickly went to Church on Twelfth-day; *and after he had been devout at the Service, he came away again. This was done at* Vienna, *not quite Ten Moneths before the Emperour's death.*

This is all that our Author produceth for the ſenſe of the *Fathers* and *primitive Chriſtians* for the Excluſion of *Julian*; his *Title* was *divine*, his *Religion* at moſt *onely ſuſpected*, not known. Yet ſaies our Author, p. 30. *If this Doctrine* (concerning the *alteration of Succeſſion*) *ſhall diſpleaſe any, which is contrary to what theſe Fathers* (which will not amount to one ſingle perſon) *aſſert with ſo much vehemencie:* He thinks it reaſonable that firſt they *confute this Doctrine* (of Excluſion) *which they diſlike.* And ſecondly, *That they would never fetch their Mountebank-Receipts of Prayers and Tears, and ſuchlike encouragements to Arbitrarie Government, out of the Writings of theſe very Fathers.* This our Author knew could eaſily be done, and therefore he thought to prejudice his Readers againſt it, by calling them *Mountebank-Receipts*, and *Antimonarchical Authors*, and *encouragements to Arbitrarie Government.* Than which I ſcarce know any thing more *profane*, but the down-right *Blaſphemie* of the *Doctrine of Chriſt*, and *the practice*

practice of the beſt Chriſtians, who *counted not their lives dear unto them*, that the *Doctrine of the Goſpel* might not be *evil ſpoken of*, as if *Chriſtianity* were an utter Enemie to *Cæſar*, or as another *Mahomet* to eſtabliſh his Kingdom by the *Sword*. What an eaſie matter doth our Author think it, to impoſe any falſehood on the Vulgar, when he tells them of *Fathers* and *primitive Chriſtians* with ſo much vehemencie aſſerting the *lawfulneſs of excluding* Julian; and inſtead of all other proofs, produceth onely a *Rhetorical Expreſſion* of a perſon in *ſome paſſion*; from which it might be proved as lawful to *Murder* Julian, as to *Exclude* him from the Succeſſion? *Hercules tuam fidem!* But to anſwer our Author's demand.

I ſhall endeavour to confute his Doctrine, (*viz.*) *That the Fathers and Primitive Chriſtians of the whole World were for the Excluſion of* Julian *from the Empire*. *Iræneus*, *Tertullian*, and St. *Auguſtin*, you have ſeen to be of a contrarie Judgment.

1. The true Chriſtians could not be for it, upon your Poſition, *That he had a right to it by the Law of Nature, and the Hand of God gave it him*: which you ſeem to aſſert.

2. It is certain the *Arian* Fathers were not, as hath been alreadie ſhewn; they congratulated *Julian*'s advent to the Kingdom: Much leſs could

could the *Orthodox* be for it upon *Gregories* ſurmiſe *that* Conſtantius *would have excluded him out of the Life as well as the Empire.*

3. From their behaviour towards *Conſtantius* a vehement *Arian*, the *Orthodox Fathers* ſhew they were not for Excluſion. *Conſtans* his Brother was joyned with him in the Empire, and he defended *Athanaſius* and the Orthodox Biſhops againſt *Conſtantius*; yet theſe Chriſtians never ſided with *Conſtans* againſt *Conſtantius*: they never reſiſted or ſought to depoſe or exclude him, although his Hereſie was extreamly dangerous, and propagated by *Force* and *Perſecution* of more eminent Divines than any that ſuffered under *Julian*. And as our Author ſays that *Poperie* is ten times worſe than *Paganiſm*; ſo I have heard as wiſe and good men as himſelf ſay, that *Socinianiſm* is as bad as *Poperie*; and the *Arians*, who denied the *Deity* of the *Son* and the *Holy Ghoſt*, were much like our *Socinians*. Mr. *Baxter* hath ſo much Charitie as to think that *ſome that died in the Communion of the Church of* Rome *are Saints in Heaven*; though he will ſcarce grant it to ſuch as die in the Communion of the Church of *England*, and therefore much leſs to thoſe that die in the belief of the *Socinians*, who renounce the Doctrine of the *Bleſſed Trinity*, and the uſe and efficacie of the *Holy Sacraments*.

4. *Conſtan-*

4. *Conſtantius* himſelf would never have conſented to the Murder of *Julian*, upon due conſideration; the Murder of others being repented of upon his Death-bed: and here is but one Argument for both his Excluſion and his Murder.

Now although our Author hath ſufficiently refuted himſelf in what hath been ſaid, yet becauſe the Calumnie againſt the Chriſtians of that Age, though aſſerted onely with noiſe and confidence, (and, as the ſaying is, *Fortiter Calumniare aliquid adhærebit*) may beget a falſe opinion both of thoſe *Primitive Chriſtians*, and the *Doctrine of Chriſtianitie* it ſelf, and alſo infect the preſent Generation, in which too many are glad to hear what power they may exerciſe on ſuch Governours as are not of their own Judgment; I ſhall in due time enquire ſtrictly into *this Authors* Opinion concerning *Reſiſtance*, and ſhew, that his whole Fabrick will be cruſh'd by the authoritie and reaſon of *thoſe very Authors* upon whoſe *bare names* he ſeeks to raiſe it. But for this I muſt deſire the Readers patience.

An

An Anſwer to our Author's

CHAP. III.

Their Behaviour towards him in Words.

THe Reader may underſtand that our Author hath done with *Julian* as a *Succeſſor*, and now ſhews how the Chriſtians treated him when he was in *full poſſeſſion* of the Empire, and that *by Divine Appointment* (as he grants). And therefore I hope it will be conſidered, that the following *Reflections* do ſhew, from the practice of the Chriſtians of *that Age*, how the Chriſtians of *this* may behave themſelves towards their lawful Governours. And he begins, *p.* 32. with a *great varietie of Inſtances*, as he calls them, *of the hatred and contempt of thoſe Chriſtians towards* Julian. And I ſhall alſo deſire that the Reader will conſider not onely the *matters* of *fact*, but the *lawfulneſs* of ſuch *Words* and *Actions* as were ſpoken and done againſt *Julian*. *A facto ad jus non valet argumentum.* And then by what *number* of Chriſtians, and of what *condition* they were that ſpoke and acted ſuch things as were ſpoken and acted: For we have known in our Age ſuch things ſpoken and

and done, by no ſmall companie of men, againſt a Prince of known Integrity; as will make all *ſober Chriſtians* to be *aſhamed* and *confounded* at the report of them. And if ſuch behaviour of our *preſent Chriſtians* ſhall be a hundred years hence read in our *Annals*, it will be a grand Calumnie againſt ſuch as were more *Loyal* and *Pious*, for any Reader to conclude that ſuch was the general practice of the Chriſtians in that Age; or that becauſe *one diſcontented Biſhop* turn'd Apoſtate, and fought againſt his Prince, *that all the Biſhops* and *Chriſtians* then alive were Rebels.

P. 33. Of their behaviour you inform us under theſe three Heads. 1. Of their *Words*. 2. Their *Actions*. 3. Their *Devotions*.

Of their Words. You ſay they were *quit with him for calling them* Galilæans, in calling him *Idolianus*. This, I confeſs, ſavours of the Wit of that Age: So the *Arians* called *Athanaſius Sathanaſius*; ſo the *Phariſees* called our Saviour *Beelzebub*. But did they return *railing for railing*? I am ſure they taught us to return *Bleſſing* and *Prayers* even to our *Perſecutors*. What if the *Antiochians* libelled him; and plaid with his *Beard*, and twitted him with ſome *natural Blemiſhes* and *Imperfections*, whereof he himſelf gives the world an account in his *Miſopogon*? Is that

ſuffi-

ſufficient authority for us to libel our *Governours*? Is it becoming a Chriſtian to deride the *bodily Infirmities*, as the *Shape of the Body*, the *Gate*, the *Beard*, and, as you ſay, *p.* 33. *every thing that belonged to him*? *Julian* himſelf ſhewed more wiſdom and *humanity* in ſcorning theſe impotent Reproaches, than they did *Chriſtianity* in ſeeking by ſuch *boyiſh language* to *vex every Vein in his Royal Heart*, *p.* 66. It is a ſign that he had more of *moderation* than they; for had they had his *Power*, (by your deſcription of them) they wanted no *Will* utterly to ruine him. But I think it more agreeable to Truth, though ſome few over-zealous perſons might *Lampoon* his *ſorrie Beard as fit to make Ropes of*, &c. that yet the generality were *better principled*, and neither uſed their *Tongues* nor their *Swords* againſt that *Heathen Emperour*. As for thoſe that did ſo reproach him, *Julian* tells them truly they had renounced the Laws, and him that had the keeping of them, (i. e. *They dealt with him*, as you ſay, *like Barbarians*). And if the Chriſtians were *firſt in the Tranſgreſſion*, it was not like *Julian* would be long behind them, or be leſs *barbarous* than they. And yet though he could have revenged himſelf with the *Sword*, he did it onely with the *Pen*: And when he was put into a fit of anger, he onely told them as a

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puniſhment that *he would ſee them no more.* Nondum ira quam ex compellationibus & probris conceperat emolitâ loquebatur, aſperiùs ſe eos aſſerens poſtea non viſurum, *Am. Marcell. l.* 23. I think in this particular *one would take them to be the* Apoſtates, *and not* Julian (as you ſay, p. 66.)

P. 36. You give a particular inſtance of *a ſingle man in* Berea, whoſe *Son warping to the falſe Religion, his Father turned him out of doors and diſinherited him*; *who related this whole matter to the Emperour, then coming to* Berea. *The Emperour being arrived, invited among other Magiſtrates and Chief men, this young man and his Father, and ſet theſe two next himſelf*; *and tells the Father, that in his mind it was not juſt to force a mans Judgment otherwiſe inclined, to reduce it to the other ſide: Therefore don't you* (ſaies *Julian*) *force your Son againſt his mind to follow your Opinion*; *for neither do I force you to follow mine, though I could eaſily compel you. The Father ſharpning his Diſcourſe, with a Divine Faith, anſwered,* O King, do you ſpeak of this Villain, who is hated by God, and hath preferred a Lye, before the true Religion? *But ſaies* Julian, *putting on a vizard of Meekneſs again,* Friend, leave railing; *and turning to the young man, ſaid,* I will take care of you my ſelf, ſince I have not prevailed with your Father to do it. This *Berean* deſerves the

the Title of *Noble* for his *Zeal*; but it reacheth not to a demonſtration of what you produce it for, *p.* 35. that the Chriſtians took the freedom to *reproach him and his Religion to his face:* for though he deſpiſed his *Religion*, yet for ought that appears, he owned his *Authority*, and reverenced his *Perſon*, beſpeaking him by the Title of *O King*. And here is no example for *railing words*, neither from that *Noble Berean* againſt *Julian*, nor from *Julian* againſt him.

P. 38. you give another inſtance of *Maris* Biſhop of *Chalcedon, who being blind, was led to the Emperour as he was Sacrificing to Fortune*, for which he called him *Impious Apoſtate*, and *Atheiſt*: and Julian *reproached him again with his blindneſs*, ſaying, *his Galilæan God would not cure him. Maris* replied, *I thank God for ſtriking me with blindneſs, that I may not ſee thy face.* This was bold and well; for he reflected not on his *Perſon*, but his *Paganiſm*. The ſayings of *Juventinus* and *Maximus* you think fit to omit; but I ſhall ſhortly mind you of them. It is ſtrange that our Author could find no inſtances more *pertinent* to his purpoſe than *theſe two*, wherein (as he ſays *p.* 45.) they *ſhewed themſelves to be men of like paſſions with other men:* though neither of them ſhewed themſelves to be men of a *capricious humour*, but declaring their *juſt indignation* againſt his

Apoſtacie,

Apoſtacie, yet ſpared his *Perſon* and his *Office*; as knowing that they *ought not to ſpeak evil of the Ruler of the People*, though they were ſuch as had been *Uſurpers*, and *cauſed them to be ſmitten contrary to the Law*, as St. *Paul* informs us; much leſs when they onely ſmite us with their *tongues*, as *Julian* did in the caſe alledged. And if it were done in *paſſion*, as you intimate, you know how our Saviour condemned that in his *own Diſciples* that would *call for fire from Heaven on the* Samaritans.

Now againſt the *ſpeaking evil of Dignities*, which *Jude*, *verſ.* 8. ſharply reproves in the *Gnoſticks* of his time, I ſhall produce the practices of *other eminent Chriſtians*, even in *Julians* Reign. *Athanaſius* was a great *Pillar of the Church* at that time, and a great example of *paſſive Obedience* under the ſevere Perſecutions both of *Conſtantius* and *Julian*; yet he *gave his Oath* that he never ſpake evil of him, as you ſhall hear anon. St. *Ambroſe* ſpake of the ſame times, The Chriſtian *Ledentibus non iraſcitur, Spoliantibus non reſiſtit, cædentibus non repugnat*, &c. *Lactantius* lived ſomewhat ſooner, but ſhews the practice of Chriſtians in his time, which was under *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, the two greateſt Tyrants: *Cum tam nefanda perpetimur, NE VERBO quidem reluctamur, ſed Deo remittimus ultionem*, Inſtit. l. 5. c. 21. and the ſame patience he ſays was

practiſed every where; *That though they endured unſpeakable miſeries, yet none of the Chriſtians did reſiſt, ſo much as in a word.*

P. 38. *It would be endleſs* (you ſay; that is, it would not be to your end and intent) *to reckon up the Sayings of Juventinus* and *Maximus*; which you name again, *p.* 39. but wiſely paſs by. For they being accuſed for ſpeaking againſt *Julian*, by ſome ſuch Witneſſes as your ſelf, do without any maledictions thus plead for themſelves: *We, O Emperour, who were brought up in the true Religion, and have lived in obedience to thoſe excellent Laws made by* Conſtantine *and his Sons, cannot but greatly lament to ſee all things defiled with impietie---our Meats and Drink are polluted.* (The Emperour had cauſed ſome of the Water, or the Sacrifices offered to his Gods, to be mixt or ſprinkled with their Meat; which did not hinder the moſt Chriſtians from uſing them, according to what the Apoſtle allowed, 1 *Cor.* 10.): But do they rail or rebel? No: they are Lachrymiſts; *Thoſe things* (ſay they) *cauſe us to ſhed many tears at home, and they conſtrain us to make our ſorrowful complaint before thee. We are offended at nothing elſe in your Government.* This you wiſely omitted; uſing onely their names, to make up a number. *Ad populum has Phaleras.*

An

An Anſwer to our Author's

CHAP. IV.

Of their Actions.

FRom their *Words* you come to ſpeak of *Blows*; yet none that I perceive fell upon *Julian*'s perſon: for you give us but *two Inſtances* of this; and neither of them reached his perſon, and but one an Officer that was inferiour to him that ſtruck him: and that was *Valentinian*, a *Colonel of the Houſhold-guards*, who as he was going before the Emperour to the Temple of *Fortune*, was ſprinkled with Holy Water by one of the *Chaplains* (as our Author calls him): which coming nigh to *Valentinian*'s Clothes, he ſtrook the *Sacriſt*, ſaying, *It would rather defile than cleanſe him.* I am at a loſs how to reconcile this Hiſtory with another more generally reported by *Gregory Nazianzen*, as well as others, That *Valentinian* voluntarily ſtript himſelf of his *Military Girdle* (that is, laid down his *Commiſſion*) upon an Edict of *Julian*'s, *That no Chriſtian ſhould bear Office in his Army*; for which noble act St. *Auguſtine* (*De civit. Dei, lib.* 18. *cap.* 52.) calls him a *Con-*

feſſor. But if it be true that he was *Colonel of the Guards* when he made this Aſſault, and that *Julian ipſo facto* ſent him away to a Gariſon lying by a Deſart to ſpend his days there, then the *other Hiſtory* muſt be falſe; and I think it more ſafe to believe that Hiſtory which *Gregory Nazianzen* delivers, atteſted by many others, than that which comes on the ſingle report of *Theodoret*. But if the *Colonel of the Guards* had ſtruck a *Sprinkler* of Holy Water, what was this to the ſtriking of *Julian*?

The *next Inſtance* is from a paſſage of *Gregory Nazianzen*, of which this is a brief account. *Who is there to be found that more deſpiſed the Emperour, or had a greater hand in deſtroying him, than my Father? Of his contempt, amongſt many others, both thoſe Archers and* THEIR COMMANDER *are a proof, whom* HE BROUGHT *againſt our Church, as either to take poſſeſſion of it, or to deſtroy it: for having aſſaulted many others; he came hither likewiſe with the ſame intent, and imperiouſly demanded the Temple. He ſo far failed of accompliſhing any thing of what he deſired, that if he had not preſently got out of my Fathers way (being aware of it, either of himſelf, or by ſome bodies advice) he might have gone away kicked; the Biſhop boyling with Anger againſt him, and with Zeal for the Temple.* A very hot fit of *Anger* and *Zeal* together, it muſt needs be, that

did

did animate ſo *ancient a Biſhop* (being ninety years old) to *lift up his heel* againſt *a young Emperour* of thirty two, in the head of an Army, who having aſſaulted many *other Churches*, came reſolved to ſeize *this* alſo. Who can think *Julian* would be diverted with the notice of the old Biſhops lying in wait for him; or that he who had read what *David* ſaid concerning *Saul*, (after that he alſo had apoſtatized from God, as I ſuppoſe that old Biſhop had done) *viz. Who can lift up his hand againſt the Lords Anointed & be guiltleſs*, 1 Sam. 26.9. ſhould think of *lifting up his heels* againſt *Julian* in the head of his Army? Either therefore this muſt be ſuch an [illegible] as is not to be paralleld in all *Longinus*, or ſuch an heroick intention as never entered into the heart of any *Zealot* amongſt the *Jews*. But to come more cloſe to the matter: you ſay, *p.* 43. You *have often tried to make this beating intended for the Captain of the Archers, and have been ready to make Solœciſms in the Greek, to avoid the greater Solœciſm of an Emperour of the world awed and terrified with the fear of a kicking. But it will not do.* No: the Proverb hinders it, *None ſo blind as he that will not ſee.* It might have been done eaſily enough, if you had not committed a Solœciſm your ſelf, in tranſlating the word [illegible] *he Brought*, but had kept the righter ſence of that word, which *Billius*,

the learned Interpreter of *Gregory Nazianzen* tranſlates *immiſerat, he ſent*: or, which your *Elias Cretenſis* uſeth, *concitabat, he ſtirred up*, or *compelled* to go againſt that Church; which if the Emperour had been in perſon, he need not to have done. And therefore I ſuppoſe *Gregory Nazianzen* meant it of the *Captain of the Archers*, that demanded the Church μὴ τῆς παρεσχημένου, not *pro imperio*, by virtue of a *Mandamus* or Commiſſion from the Emperour: for ſure the Emperour himſelf needed no ſuch Commiſſion. Nor is it probable that the Emperour himſelf would in his March againſt *Perſia* trot up and down from one Church to another: for you ſay, *he had aſſaulted many others to make a ſeizure of them.* Nor is it a *Solœciſm* to ſay *the Emperour ſeized thoſe Churches* which *another* did ſeize *by his command.* Our Author I ſuppoſe was led into this errour by taking the word ἐπάγω from ἐπάγω, which ſignifieth *induco*, to *lead* or *introduce*: whereas the Interpreters that render it *immitto*, or *concito*, being better *Grecians* than himſelf, underſtand it to be from the Verb ἐπείγω, of which every *Lexicon* will give him ſuch a ſence, as that, without a wreſting of it, it muſt refer to *the Captain of the Archers.* But we are come to the end of this Tragi-comedy: The *Emperour* kept himſelf in a *whole skin*; the *Biſhops Anger* vented it ſelf ſome other

other way, and all was huſht and calmed. But certainly our Author, who hath firſt begun this Quarrel between the *Emperour* and the *Biſhop*, is much to be blamed, whether he did it *ignorantly* (which is the beſt conſtruction that his Friends can make) or elſe *maliciouſly*, which appears by forſaking the Tranſlations of *Billius* and *Cretenſis*, and preferring another that might favour his deſigne. And I challenge him to be as big as his word, and make *ſatisfaction* for this baſe Coinage. And that you may not be guilty of ſuch a wilful miſtake for the future, I ſhall give you this Token to be worn as a Frontlet on your brow, That from ἐπὶ is derived ἐπίκτης, an Inſtigator.

P. 44. *Here you have a deſcription of one of the Lachrymiſts of old*, &c. How far this Biſhop was a *Lachrymiſt*, we ſhall ſee hereafter. It were fitter for the Wit of a *Julian*, than the Piety of a *Chriſtian*, to deride the *Prayers and Tears* of thoſe ancient Chriſtians. Whatever *Garlands* and *Trophies Nazianzen* or *Baſil* erected for that *old Biſhop*, are now pulled down by the hands of a *young P*—— who repreſents him as a *Hector*, and a *Striker*, expreſly contrary to our *Saviour's* Example, and St. *Paul's* Injunction.

You adde, *p.* 44. *And now I know no more than the Pope of* Rome, *what to make of all this*;

what they meant by it, or on what Principles they proceeded. I queſtion not the Principles of thoſe in whom you have inſtanced; it ſufficeth me that you ſay it was done *in a fit of boiling anger.* But when, ſpeaking of the Principles of ſuch as offer violence to their lawful Emperours, you ſay *you know no more than the Pope of* Rome: I ſay, it is pity that you ſhould know or divulge half ſo much: For what you have ſuggeſted concerning theſe pretended Violences offered by Primitive Chriſtians to their lawful Emperours, hath a very malign influence on the preſent Age; and for this and other ſuch Reaſons, (as I ſaid) I would rather loſe my right hand than be the Author of them. But if you know their Principles as well as the Pope of *Rome*, you know he holds it lawful to depoſe or kill any *Prince* whom he ſhall judge and Excommunicate as a *Heretick* or Tyrant; and he can teach you to diſtinguiſh between reſiſting *Julian*, and reſiſting the *Devil that was in him:* That the King is *Univerſis minor*, and that the people who gave him his power may reſume it, *&c.*

You ſay, *p.* 45. *none of thoſe Biſhops had ever been in* Scotland, *nor had learnt to fawn upon an Apoſtate, and a mortal Enemie to Religion. Parcius iſta:* For though ſome may think you are reflecting only on a *Popiſh Succeſſor*;

ceſſor; yet others, conſidering you ſpeak of *Julian*, who was now a lawful Emperour, may ſtretch this line too far. *Scotland* indeed hath been glutted with *the bloud of their Kings*, whereof about Thirtie have ſuffered violent Deaths. I acquit *thoſe Biſhops* from confederacie with *Scotland*; they never contributed to the deſtruction of any: I wiſh I could do ſo by the *Presbyterians*. Yet I perceive you know how to yoak the *Popes Bull* and the *Scotiſh Heifer* together, and with them to make large Furrows on the backs of *Kings*. There was, I remember, for above Forty years ſince, a great *Correſpondence* between *Rome* and *Scotland*, who then communicated their *Principles* to each other; and though none of the old *Biſhops* were acquainted with them, yet ſome late *Presbyters* have eſpouſed them, and can on all occaſions (for the diſturbance of our Engliſh Nation) talk as *Whiggiſhly* as ever *Knox* or *Buchanan* did. But they are ſo diſingenuous as to conceal the names of their *good Teachers*, from whom they learned to diſtinguiſh not onely between *Julian* and *the Devil in him*, but between *Charles Stuart* and the *King*, that they might deſtroy him in *a double capacity*; firſt, as a *King*, and then as a *Man*. And if, as you ſay, *the Laws of our Land do not allow any one to imagine violence to their lawful Empe-*

Emperour: And if, as *Bracton* says, *fama apud graves & bonos viros*, is a proof of Treason, I fear an Indictment may lie against the Author of *Julian*'s Life; for that—— *Not having the fear of God before his Eyes, but being moved*, &c. It is therefore a most *profane* and *Reproachful inference*, with which you conclude *Chap.6. That in that Age the best Prayers and Tears were those that contributed most to* Julian's *destruction.*

An

An Anſwer to our Author's

CHAP. V.

Of their Devotions: And firſt of their Pſalms.

THis was indeed the *Devotion* of our late *Times*, to begin with a *Pſalm*, not regarding the *Scriptures*, or as much as the *Commandments*, *Creed*, or *Lords Prayer*; and then to *preach* in their *Prayers*, and *pray* in their *Preaching*; or, if you will, in our Authors Language, *to ſay their Prayers backward*. In their Devotions, you ſay, *p.* 45. *It might be expected we ſhould ſee the flights of their ſelf-denying and ſuffering Religion; and one may expect they ſhould lay aſide their animoſitie againſt* Julian, *though he were their Ememie, and for that reaſon pray the harder for him.*—— This certainly was their *duty*, wherein they might have ſhewn themſelves *Chriſtians indeed*: But this, our Author thinks, was fit onely for the Chriſtians in *Dioclesians time*, and thoſe that lived in the *moſt Primitive times*. I am as ſure that they uſed the *right method* of Devotion in praying for their *Heathen Perſecutors*, as our Author can be of what he ſeems to glorie in, that theſe in *Julian's*

lian's time *prayed the wrong way, p.* 46. *They cannot ſing a Pſalm* (ſaies he) *but they make his Confuſion the burden of it.* Such *Pſalms* as theſe, are none of the *Songs of Sion*, which ſhould make for *Peace*; nor had he the *Wiſdom of* Solomon that compoſed them, or they the *Spirit of Chriſt* that ſung them. Our *Saviour* (as we read) *ſung a Hymn* a little before his Paſſion; but it was not for *confuſion* of thoſe that came to apprehend and crucified him; he prayed for them: *Father, forgive them*, &c. Now though the *Brethren of* Scotland have been ſilent of late, yet among the *Siſters* there are many ſuch *ſweet Singers* ſtill, who in their *Rhapſodies* dart up *Arrows, Firebrands*, and *Death* againſt Heaven it ſelf; which have deſervedly recoiled on their own heads, and ſpoiled their ſinging. And if ſuch be their *running Verſes*, and the *Burden of their Songs*, ſing *Quicunque vult* for me; I will be none of that *black Quire*: St. *Stephens* example is fitter for a *Chriſtian*, who prayed for his Perſecutors while they were ſtoning of him, *Lord, lay not this ſin to their charge, Acts 7. v.*60. And all ſober Chriſtians will rather take St. *James* his advice than the Author of *Julian*, who tells us, if we uſe our Tongues to *bleſs God even the Father*, and to *curſe men which are made after the ſimilitude of God*, (and Princes have a *double Image* of God;

God; as they are *Men*, and as they are *Princes*) if we are *double-tongued*, and *out of the ſame mouth proceeds bleſſing and curſing: my brethren* (ſaies he) *theſe things ought not ſo to be*, James 3. 9, 10. And now let us conſider his Proofs. And firſt, as to the inſtance of thoſe who *removed the Bones of* Babilas; it was ill done to ſet *David's Pſalms* to the tune of *Sheba's Trumpet, We have no portion in* David, *neither have we any inheritance in the Son of* Jeſſe: *Every man to his Tents, O Iſrael.* Doubtleſs, they ſhould rather have prayed for his *Converſion* than his *Confuſion*. How unſuitable was this to the Funeral-Solemnitie of a *Martyr*, when they ſhould have rather *bleſſed God for the example of the Faith and Patience of* Babilas, than have provoked the Emperour to have made it *their own Funeral-dirge*! Our Saviour adviſed his Diſciples to *flee from perſecution*, not to *draw it on their own heads*.

The ſecond inſtance, is of *Publia* and her Maidens, who ſung *to the ſame tune*, and contrary to what St. *James* preſcribes; having *praiſed God her Creator*, by and by, in a fit of *Rage*, whereof (you ſay, *p.* 50.) *there ſeemed to be ſome quantitie*, ſhe turned her Devotion into Curſes *plainly levell'd at the head of* Julian: And it is a wonder, that having to do with *ſuch an Emperour*, that they had not like

Swans

Swans ended their *Lives* with their *Songs*. But did any *companie of Chriſtians* at that time meet ſolemnly together, and make uſe of ſuch a *Directorie* for their *publick Devotions*? No; they were but the *paſſionate acts* of *a few private perſons*, contrary to the *general practice* of the *Fathers* and *ſerious Chriſtians*, as ſhall moſt undeniably appear anon. But this calls to my mind a more rude and barbarous behaviour of *ſome* (who accounted themſelves the *beſt Chriſtians*) towards the *Royal Martyr*, who honouring one of their Congregations with his preſence, when they came to ſing a Pſalm, by whoſe inſtigation it was I know not, the 52 Pſalm was named, and *begun* to be read:

Why doſt thou Tyrant boaſt abroad
Thy wicked works to praiſe?

Whereat the good King lifting up himſelf, ſaies, I pray you to ſing the 56 Pſalm,

Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
For man would me devour.

And the Congregation cheerfully ſung with his Majeſtie. *This was one great fault* (ſaith he) *of the Common-prayer, that it taught them to pray ſo often for me; to which prayers they had*

had not loyaltie enough to ſay Amen. It is a moſt *profane Cuſtom*, though it hath of late years been too much in uſe, to turn our *Prayers* into *Satyrs*, and our *Pſalms* into *Paſquils* and *Libels*; and to *vomit forth our Spleen*, when we ſhould *pour out our Hearts* before God.

I ſhall conclude this Chapter with *Athanaſius* his anſwer to *Conſtantius*, when he had been accuſed for ſtirring up *Conſtans* againſt his Brother *Conſtantius* to reſtore him by Arms. *I am not ſo mad, O Emperour, that you ſhould ſuſpect me to have had any ſuch thought. I call God to witneſs againſt my Soul, and I ſwear, the Lord can bear me witneſs, and his Anointed your Brother, I never mentioned you for any evil before your Brother; neither ever ſtirred him up againſt you, as theſe* (Arians) *ſlander me: but whenever I had acceſs to him, he himſelf mentioned your gracious inclination; And God knows what mention I made of your godly diſpoſition.---I am not ſo mad, neither have I forgotten the voice of God, which ſaith,* Curſe not the King in thine heart, nor the mighty in the ſecret of thy chamber; for the birds of the air ſhall reveal it, &c. *If the things ſpoken in ſecret touching you Princes cannot be hid, is it likely that I in the preſence of a Prince, and many ſtanding by, would ſay any thing of you otherwiſe than what was good? ---I beſeech your Highneſs call to mind my be-*

haviour when you admitted me to your presence at Vimimachum, *at* Cæsaria, *and* Antioch; *whether I did so much as offer an evil word of* Eusebius *my bitter Enemy, or of any my persecutors: And if I refrained my tongue when I was to plead against them in my own defence, what madness had it been to traduce an Emperour before an Emperour, and to stir up one Brother against another?* Athanasii *Apol.* ad Imperatorem *Constantius.* Yet was this Bishop turn'd out of his Church without *kicking the Emperour*, or any *Officer of his*, as may be there read: he departed peaceably; and though the Citizens were ready to take Arms on *Ambrose* his behalf, he pacified them and departed.

An

An Anſwer to our Author's

CHAP. VI.

Their Prayers and Tears.

WHereof, he ſays, *Gregory gives a large account.* So large indeed, that our Author onely pickt and choſe what might make moſt for his purpoſe, omitting what was moſt material: for in that *ſecond Oration againſt* Julian, p. 127. he ſays, πόσην πόλεν κατάστασιν, ὅπλων παρασκευὴν *How great proviſion of Armour and inventions of Engines; how many myriads of men and armed Souldiers could effect thoſe things which we by our Prayers onely,* and God *by his Will hath done?* Nor is it probable that the Chriſtians at that time did want force to reſtrain the violence of the Emperour, ſeeing our Author confeſſeth, that *he who thought it a ſmall buſineſs to conquer the* Perſians, *thought it a great work to reduce the* Chriſtians. And doubtleſs that *Pagan* wanted not malice to root them out, but he diſtruſted his Power: for even of that Army which he led into *Perſia*, the far *greateſt part*, if not *all*, were *Chriſtians*; which appears not onely by their chu-

* *Greg. p.* 117. ſing *Jovian* to be their Emperour (* immediately after his death) who had renounced all his Honour, & ſuffered exile for *Chriſtianity*; but by their unanimous * Acclamation, when *Jovian* told them he was unwilling to undertake the Government of a Pagan Army, *We are all Chriſtians! we are all Chriſtians!*

* See *Ruff. l.* 2. *c.* 1. *Socr. l.* 3. *c.* 22. *Theod. l.* 4. *c.* 1.

This conſideration, drew from the Learned *Mountague* upon the relation of St. *Gregory* (οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἴσου) this Note; *It was not becauſe they could not, but becauſe they would not reſiſt*: for they had ſtrength ſufficient to have ſuppreſſed the Tyrant, as St. *Auguſtine* and *Gregory* declare: The Chriſtian intereſt was ſo largely propagated, and had taken ſuch deep roots, that it could not be *deſtroyed*, unleſs the Empire had periſhed with it. *Tertullian* ſays, the Chriſtians were *pars pene major cujuſque Civitatis, & veſtra Omnia implevimus*; And if they had but deſerted the Empire, it would have been as a Wilderneſs: Yet it appeared to be true, That *Chriſtianus nullius eſt hoſtis nedum Imperatoris.* And St. *Cyprian ad Demetr. Nemo noſtrum quando apprehenditur reluctatur, nec ſe adverſus injuſtam violentiam veſtram, (quamvis nimius & copioſus ſit populus noſter) ulciſcitur.*) But thoſe *Chriſtians* had learn'd patience in the School of Chriſt, as well by example

ample as precept; and not to overturn and bring all to confuſion, with a

Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos, Acheronta movebo.

So the Learned *Mountague*. So that when *Gregory* ſays, *they had no other defence, but all was cut off from them*, he may be well underſtood, concerning the uſe of any other means, all violence and reſiſtance being forbidden them; for, *id poſſumus quod Jure poſſumus*: they were forbid to uſe the Sword for revenging themſelves upon the Emperour. And St *Gregory* in his 1. *Orat.* ſays. *that the enemy of Chriſtianity was defeated by Gods mercy, and the Chriſtians tears, which were many, and ſhed by many,* τῶν μόνων ἰχόντες κατὰ τῦ διώκτυ φαρμάκων, *having no other remedy againſt that Perſecutor.*

Beſides, as they wanted not *Souldiers*, ſo neither valiant and experienced *Captains* that had the entire affections of the Souldiers, and which were approved *Chriſtians*. *Jovianus*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens* (which three after the death of *Julian* were ſucceſſively choſen Emperours) could each of them have engaged Legions to follow them: and how well the *Souldiers* were affected to them, you have ſeen already by their choice of *Jovian* preſently on the death of *Julian*. So that it might be as truly objected that they wanted *Souldiers* and *Commanders*, as that they wanted *Arms*,

Caſtles and *Fortreſſes.* They had not indeed *ſurprized* any of the *Imperial Forts*, or held them out in *actual Rebellion* againſt *Julian*, (as you know who did in the *laſt Age*:) but many of them were Gariſoned with *Chriſtian Souldiers*, who doubtleſs would have declared for the *Chriſtian Religion*, againſt the *Atheiſm* and *Perſecution* of *Julian*, had not theſe renowned *Confeſſors* been reſtrained by the Command of Chriſt to *fear God and honour the King*.

Beſides, I have two other Conſiderations of geat weight with me, that it was not for *want of Strength*, or *doubt of Succeſs*, that the Chriſtians did not oppoſe *Julian*.

As firſt, it was uſual with the Roman Souldiers upon any diſguſt with their Emperours, to kill their Emperours, and ſet others in their Thrones. Six of the twelve *Cæſars* were ſlain, (as ſome Hiſtorians account; but never was there ſuch a thing done by the *Chriſtian Souldiers*: For after ſuch time as the Roman Strength was put into the hands of Chriſtians, they never depoſed any one of their Emperours, though there wanted no *Strength* on their parts, nor *Provocations* on their enemies part, many of them being Perſecuting *Arians*. And though *Julian* by his raſhneſs, againſt the advice of *Salluſtius*, a man of great experience, and generally beloved of his whole Army,

Army, was resolved on the *Persian War*, and had foolishly exposed them to great hazard's and danger, by his following the directions of a Renegado *Persian*, who led them into a barren, and almost inaccessible Country, and burning his Ships that might have served for a retreat; yet was there no *Associating* or banding against him in his life-time; but as soon as he was dead, they all professed themselves Christians, and chose a Christian Emperour.

Secondly, The power which the Clergy had with the People, who could hardly restrain then from tumults and fighting in their defence, is another Argument with me: for even at that time *Athanasius* convened in the great City of *Alexandria*, a great number, not onely of the Bishops of the Greek Church, which were near at hand, but from *Italy*, *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and *Libya*; which argues that the affairs of Christianity were in no low or despisable condition. And if it be true that *Gregories* Father *alone* thought of braving the Emperour, what might the *united Interest* of these Bishops and the Souldiery in their Sees have done? But they thought it better to flee as *Athanasius* did, or betake themselves to their Spiritual Armory of *prayers and tears*, than to lift up a hand against *Julian*. And I cannot but think that St. *Gregory* was of the

ſame Judgment, when he wrote without any paſſion to the Citizens of *Alexandria*, being affrighted with the noiſe of Perſecution, in his 17th *Oration*, to this effect: (*N.B.*) *This is one of our Laws, and of thoſe laudable ones moſt excellently ordained by the Spirit of God, who knew beſt how to temper his Law with a mixture of what was poſſible to us, and honeſt in it ſelf, That as Servants ſhould be obedient to their Maſters, and Wives to their Husbands, and the Church to our Lord, and Diſciples to their Paſtors and Teachers: So ſhould we alſo be ſubject to all* higher powers, not onely for fear of puniſhment, but alſo for Conſcience ſake. St. *Gregory* alſo in a Funeral-Oration, n. 20. for St. *Baſil*, records an Anſwer of his to *Modeſtus* Governour of his Country under *Valens* an *Arian* Emperour---- *Where the Cauſe of God is in danger, we neglect other things, and look onely to him: Fire, Sword, and Beaſts, are matters of rejoycing to us, rather than terrour: Reproach, threaten, and do to us what thou pleaſeſt, employ thy Authority, let the Emperour alſo hear of this; Thou ſhalt not overcome nor perſwade us to conſent to Impiety.* So that both *Gregory* and *Baſil* the Divine, and *Baſil* the Great, which were no *Mountebanks*, but *Great Doctors* of the Church, were for the preſcription of *prayers and tears*, although you would force them to the contrary.

I

I have reſerved another Teſtimony of *Athanaſius* for this place, being an account of the *Publick Prayers* made by himſelf for *Conſtantius* the Emperour, though he had removed him from his Paſtoral charge. In his Apologie to *Conſtantius*. *Witneſs hereof* (ſaith he) *is firſt the Lord, who heard us, and granted unto you the intire Empire, which was left unto you by your Anceſtors; then thoſe who at that time were preſent: for the words I uſed were theſe onely*; Let us pray for the welfare of the moſt religious Emperour *Conſtantius*; *and the whole People with one voice cried preſently*, O Chriſt, be favourable to *Conſtantius*; *and ſo continued praying a long time*. And then he concludes, *Let truth take place with you, and leave not the whole Church under a ſuſpition, as though ſuch things* (as tended to the death of *Conſtans*) *ſhould be thought on or written by Chriſtians, and eſpecially by Biſhops*. *Athanaſius* was alſo accuſed for celebrating Publick Prayers in the Church of *Alexandria*; which he confeſſeth he did, being urged thereto by the importunity of the People; that they might pray for the welfare of the Emperour in that Church which he himſelf had builded, being ready otherwiſe to go out of the City, and to aſſemble themſelves in the Deſarts. But thus he expoſtulates with the Emperour: *And you, O King, moſt beloved of God, where*

would you have had the People ſtretch out their hands and pray for you? there where the Pagans did paſs by, or in the place which bore your name, and which from the firſt foundation thereof all men did call a Church? And then he prays thus for the Emperour---*O Lord Chriſt, who art indeed King of kings, the onely begotten Son of God, the Word and Wiſdom of the Father; becauſe the People have implored thy goodneſs, and by thee called upon thy Father, who is God over all, for the welfare of thy moſt religious ſervant* Conſtantius, *I am now accuſed.* And then ſpeaking to the Emperour, *You do not forbid, but are willing that all men ſhould pray, knowing that this is the Prayer of all, that you may live in ſafetie, and continually reign in peace.---And as for you, O Emperour, beloved of God, many years I pray you may live, and accompliſh the Dedication of this Church: for thoſe Prayers that are made therein for your welfare, do no way hinder the ſolemnitie of the Dedication.* And whereas *Athanaſius* was accuſed alſo for not obeying the Emperours Command to depart from *Alexandria*, he ſays, *I do not oppoſe the Command of your Majeſtie; God forbid; I am not ſuch a man as would oppoſe the very Treaſurer of the Citie, much leſs ſo great an Emperour.--- I was not ſo mad as to oppoſe ſuch a Command of yours: I neither did oppoſe it, nor will enter into* Alexandria, *until you of your*

your humanitie be pleaſed I ſhall ſo do. If *old Gregory* was of another mind, it was but *one Doctors Opinion.* And I think our Author in the ſame caſe is a *Diſſenter* from all *Chriſtian Divines,* as well as from the *Church of England*; and from Mr. *Baxter* too, who ſaies, that *hurtful prayers and deſires are ſeldom from God:* and he ſpeaks it in the very caſe of *Julian,* p. 17. of his *Direct.* part 4.

I ſhall here add the example of that Legion which was called Κεραυνοφόρος, or *the Thundring Legion,* conſiſting of 6666 Chriſtians, under *Marcus Aurelius*; of whom *Zephiline* ſpeaks thus: *The Emperours Army being in great diſtreſs for want of water, and being compaſſed about by their Adverſaries, the Præfect of the Prætorians told* Marcus, *That there was nothing which thoſe Chriſtians could not obtain by their Prayers:* Marcus *therefore deſired the Præfect that he would intreat them to pray unto their God; which they had no ſooner done, but the Lord by thunder and lightning diſcomfited their enemies, and* with ſeaſonable ſhowers *refreſhed the whole Army, which otherwiſe might have periſhed.*

St. *Ambroſe* was another of thoſe *Lachrymiſts* which our Author derides; he lived under *Valentinian* the younger, another *Arian* Emperour; and yet, as *Ruffinus* ſays of him, (Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 26.) *he did not defend himſelf*

ſelf by his hand or weapon, but with faſtings and continual watchings, and remaining under Gods Altar, by his Prayers prevailed with God to be a Defender both of him and his Church. I will give you St *Ambroſe* his own words to his Church at *Millain:* — *I will never forſake you willingly; being conſtrained, I know not how to make oppoſition.* Dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere adverſus arma Milites Gothos; Lachrymæ meæ arma ſunt; talia enim munimenta ſunt Sacerdotis: aliter NEC DEBEO NEC POSSUM RESISTERE. *I can ſorrow, I can weep, I can ſigh againſt Arms, Souldiers, and Goths; Tears are my weapons; for ſuch is the Munition of a Prieſt; in any other manner I OUGHT NOT, I CANNOT RESIST.* And his People were much of the ſame mind, as he deſcribes it, *Epiſt.* 33. or as in ſome Editions, the 13. *Ad Marcellinam, What could have been better ſpoken by Chriſtian men, than that which the Holy Ghoſt ſpake in you this day?* Rogamus, Auguſte, non pugnamus, *We entreat, O Emperour, we fight not; we are not afraid, yet we entreat. This* (ſaith St. *Ambroſe*) *doth become Chriſtians, that both the tranquillity of peace be deſired by them, and their conſtancie in faith and truth ſhould not be deſerted, no not with the peril of death.* And in his Tract *de Renovatione fidelium: Laude magis ſcribendum eſt, non tam male facere non poſſe,*

poſſe, quam nolle; whereof St. *Peter* told us the ſence long before, 1 *Pet.* 2. 19. *This is thank-worthie to God, if a man endure grief, ſuffering wrongfully:* And that man doth certainly ſuffer wrongfully, that hath the Laws of God and man on his ſide. But there is no Law of God for *reſiſtance* of a lawful Magiſtrate. The Apoſtle did not calculate his Doctrine for the three firſt Centuries under Heathen, and that it ſhould expire under Chriſtian Magiſtrates: the Spirit of God foreſaw that *Kings ſhould be nurſing Fathers* to his Church, and made good Laws for the ſecuritie thereof; but he never meant that Princes ſhould be reſiſted, though in ſome things they ſhould act contrary to thoſe Laws.

So that when our Author demands *by what Law we muſt die?* p. 81. and anſwers, *Not by the Law of God, for being of that Religion which he approves:* I anſwer, Yes, 1. By the Law of God, rather than make reſiſtance; that we may bear teſtimony to that Law by ſuffering of death for our Religion, rather than to violate it by our *Rebellion.* 2. By the Laws of our Country too: for though by the favour of Chriſtian Princes many good Laws are made for obedient Subjects, which the Prince may not violate without his great ſin againſt God; yet hath the Supreme Autho-

rity

rity of the Land provided eſpecially for the ſecurity of the Prince, who is a *Common good.* We ſee how in Nature *light* things do ſometimes *deſcend*, and things that are *heavie* will *aſcend*, againſt their natural propenſion, for the preſervation of the Univerſe; and if private men do ſubmit themſelves to ſome Violencies and Injuſtice for the preſervation of the publick Peace, it is but their duty: and if the Prince do invade *our Rights*, that is no ground for us to invade *his*, in whom the happineſs of the *whole Nation* doth conſiſt.

St. *Bernard* was another *Lachrymiſt*, Epiſt. 221. ſpeaking to *Lewis* then King of *France*; *Whatever it pleaſeth you to do concerning your Kingdom, Crown, and Soul, we that are the Children of the Church, cannot conceal the injuries done to our Mother; we will ſtand and fight even to death for our Mother, if need be*; *but* Armis quibus licet; non ſcutis & gladiis, ſed precibus fletibuſque ad Deum: *with ſuch Arms as are allowed us; not with Sword and Buckler, but with Prayers and Tears to God.*

I could multiply many Teſtimonies in this kind; nor can any other than ſuch as our Author produceth of ſome private *paſſionate* and *miſtaken* Chriſtians, be pretended to the contrary, until ſuch time as the *Pope* erected the *Standard of Antichriſt* againſt *Chriſtian Kings*, which was after the time of *Gregory the Great*;

Great; or, until *Presbyterie*, as a *Reformado*, ſought under the *ſame Banner*.

Now to ſay as you do, in the cloſe of this Chapter, *p.* 55. That *in that Age the beſt Prayers and Tears were thoſe which did beſt execution upon an Apoſtate Emperour, and contributed moſt to his deſtruction*; and again, *p.* 96. *I do not find among the Ancients one ſingle wiſh for* Julian's *Converſion, but all for his down-right Deſtruction*, is a very unchriſtian inſinuation, eſpecially for one who pretends to ſay the Prayer for the Royal Family *as heartily as any man* (in the Preface.)

P. 93. Our Author, by way of Poſtſcript, tells us, he hath *many more exceptions againſt the Artillery of Prayers and Tears, than he can ſtay to inſiſt on.* The firſt is a great exception indeed, which makes St. *Gregory* to overthrow all that our Author had quoted from him; for St. *Gregory*, p. 57. of the *firſt Invective* (*Eaton*-edition) ſays thus: *Julian was hindered by the goodneſs of God, and the Tears of Chriſtians, which were ſhed in great plentie by many who had this onely remedie againſt the Perſecutor.* Now it is well obſerved by our Author, here are *no Prayers mentioned*; none at all for his *confuſion*, no ſuch Prayers as *are no better than Treaſon by our Law*, p. 95. Secondly, *Gregory* doth not tell us here that they had no *Arms*, or *Walls*, or that theſe *Lachrymiſts*

chrymiſts cried, *CHUD EAT CHEESE AN CHAD IT*; but *that they had this onely Remedie againſt the Perſecutor*, (*i.e.*) as our Author ſays, *They had no other way to help themſelves:* And though here be no *Prayers* mentioned, yet in other places St. *Gregory* mentions *Prayers*, and was as great a *Lachrymiſt* at *Prayer* as any.

P. 96. Our Author parallels theſe Prayers with ſome, which he ſays were *made Treaſon in Queen* Mary's *days*, of which the Act ſays, (*Anno* 1. and 2. of *Philip* and *Mary*, lib. 9.) *That ſome prayed that God would turn her heart from Idolatrie to the true Faith, or elſe to ſhorten her days, or take her quickly out of the way.* Though they had uſed ſuch Prayers in *ſecret*, they ſhould methinks for their own ſakes have forborn them in their *Conventicles*, where the Act ſays they were uſed, and where (as you would have it) ſuch *murdering Prayers* are too frequent in our Age. And I doubt whether God might not have rejected ſuch Prayers with a *Quis requiſivit?* I believe verily it was never in our Saviour's mind, when he bids us to *pray for them that perſecute us*; nor of his Apoſtle, when he injoyns that *Prayers and Supplications*, &c. *be made for Kings and all that are in Authoritie*, 1 Tim. 2. 1. And whereas that Act ſaith, *Such a Prayer was never heard or read to have been uſed by any good Chriſtian man*

man againſt any Prince, though he were a Pagan; you think you have given preſidents for it in the caſe of *Julian*, where the Chriſtians prayed for his *Deſtruction, not his Converſion.* If (as you ſay) you *pray as heartily for his R. H. as any man, in the Collect for the Royal Family*, you cannot but mind his Converſion. And no preſident that ever I heard of will warrant any other Prayers, but to this effect: *ENDUE THEM WITH THY HOLY SPIRIT, ENRICH THEM WITH THY HEAVENLY GRACE, PROSPER THEM WITH ALL HAPPINESS, AND BRING THEM TO THINE EVERLASTING KINGDOM*, &c. Here is nothing at all for *Deſtruction*, but all for *Converſion.* And though I know you are a *daring man*, yet pray do not think of reforming the *Engliſh Liturgie* by your *Julian* nor *Gregorian* Account, and teach us by your example to *ſay our Prayers backward.*

Gregory himſelf was ſo great a *Lachrymiſt*, that our Author, if he have any ſpark of *Grace*, or intention to *repent*, muſt needs *weep with him*, and (as he did) recant that as publickly, in other more ſerious Writings, which he delivered in a *fit of Paſſion*, or to ſhew his Rhetorick. *Gregory Nazianzen*, Orat. 17. p. 267. to the Citizens of *Nazianzum*, that were in great fear by reaſon of the diſpleaſure

displeasure of their Præfect, perswades them to make use of these weapons, ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψητε πρὸς Κύριον μετὰ πένθους, *Ps.* 34. 17. *If thou turn to the Lord with mourning, thou shalt be saved: Te see* (saith *Gregory*) *how Salvation is annexed to Mourning,* οὐδὲν μέσον τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιλύσεως, *nothing can come between your Prayers and the Blessings that you ask.* Doth the Spirit of God prescribe *Mountebank-Receipts* in the opinion of *Gregory?* or ought not he to repent that calls them *Mountebank-Receipts?*

Then minding them of the instability of Humane Affairs, and of the great benefit they may reap by their patience and submission to Gods Chastisements, he adds, —*Let us submit our selves to God, to one another, and to those who have the Government on Earth,* (the word is ὑποτασσώμεθα, the same that St. *Paul* useth *Rom.* 13. 5.) —*To God in all things, to each other in brotherly charitie, and to our Governours for the sake of good order.* (He adds) *it is a hainous and dangerous thing to exhaust the Clemencie* (*of the Ruler*) *by needing daily pardon. Among other Laws of our Religion, we have this given us by the Spirit of God, who hath joyned that which we are able to do, to that which is just and honest, and hath established it by a most laudable Law; That as Servants obey their Masters and Wives their Husbands, and the Church Christ, and Disciples their*

their Paſtors; ſo we alſo are commanded to obey the higher Powers, not onely for Wrath, but for Conſcience-ſake, as being bound to yield them Tribute; nor let us give occaſion by our wickedneſs to bring the Law into contempt, and to provoke the revenging Sword, but rather being made better through our fears, endeavour to obtain praiſe from the higher Powers. Decies repetita placebit. I wiſh I could ſay of our Author, *Et hinc illæ Lacrymæ*; but our Author hath other thoughts: he thinks he hath much obliged the whole Nation, turning their *Mourning* into *Mirth*, and inſtructing them, after the new faſhions of *Rome* and *France*, to exchange their *Prayers and Tears* for *Fire and Sword*, for *Gun-powder*, *Piſtols*, *Poniards*: and therefore he firſt ſaies it was a *Chriſtian* that killed *Julian*; and from *Zozomen*, that he was to be *commended* for the fact, *p.* 60, 61.

Sigebert, in his *Chron. ad Anno* 1088. tells us, That *this noveltie, that I ſay not Hereſie, was not yet riſen up in the world, that the Prieſts of God (who ſaith to a King Remove, and maketh an Hypocrite to reign for the ſins of a people) ſhould teach the people that they owe no ſubjection to wicked Kings; and though they have given an Oath of Fidelity to them, yet they owe no Fidelity to them; nor are to be accounted perjured, though they fight againſt them; and that he that obeyeth the King ſhall be excommunicated,*

municated, and he that oppoſeth him ſhall be abſolved from the guilt of Injuſtice and Perjurie. So that although theſe *Ancient Biſhops* were *never in* Scotland, yet a man may think our *Scotizing Presbyters* have been at *Rome*; whoſe *Principles* and *Practices* run ſuch *parallels*, as would fill a bigger Volume than I intend.

I ſhall onely ſhew, that the Fathers give us a better *Form* of praying for Kings than your *Directorie* doth; and the Law of God and Man enjoyns us *Uniformitie* in the uſe of it.

Tertul. Apol. *c.* 31, *&c. You that ſay we regard not the welfare of* Cæſar, *look into our Scriptures, which command us to pray for our Enemies and Perſecutors, eſpecially that we pray for Kings, and all in authoritie: For with them the whole Empire is ſhaken, and we our ſelves as Members thereof are in hazard: therefore we ſacrifice for the ſafetie of the Emperour, but to God; and as God hath commanded, with pure Prayer we pray for them and their Officers and Magiſtrates, for faithful Armies, ſeaſonable Times, and a quiet Age, &c. Having our arms ſpread to God, let Hooks tear us, Croſſes hang us, &c. a praying Chriſtian is prepared for any torment: Come then, you Præfects, and force out our Souls praying for the Emperour.*

Athena-

Athenagoras in his Apologie to *M. Aurelius*: *We pray for your Empire, that the Son* (τῷ πατρὶ διαδεδόχοτι) *as it is most just, may succeed the Father in the Kingdom, and that your Empire may increase and flourish; all being subject to you: which would be much for our good, that we leading a quiet and peaceable life, may readily obey you in all your commands.*

St. *Cyprian* to *Demetrian*: *We pray day and night, propitiating and appeasing God for your peace and safetie, and that the Reign of* Valerian *and* Galien *may continue unshaken.* So *Eusebius* observes, *l.* 6. *c.* 11. *Eccl. Hist.* of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, That he prayed for the same Emperours, *that their Kingdom might continue.* St. *Sebastian* lived under *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, and fought for them, and prayed; and assures us, the rest of the Souldiers did the like. *The Priests of the Temples do possess your Majesties minds* (saith he) *with unjust surmises, as if we* (the Christians) *were Enemies to the Commonwealth; whereas by our Prayers the Commonwealth is bettered and increased: for we cease not to pray for your Empire, and the safetie of the Roman Armie.* See *Surius* on *Jan.* 20.

Optatus, l. 3. *contra* Parmen. *The Apostle teacheth us to pray for Kings and those that are in Authoritie*, etiamsi talis esset Imperator qui Gentiliter viveret, *though he were a Pa-*

gan. The Council of *Paris* 6th, p. 534. of the Second Tome of the French Councils: *If* Jeremy *the Prophet admoniſhed to pray for the Life of* Nebuchadonozor *that Idolatrous King, how much more ought Supplications to be made for all Chriſtian Kings?* *Aphraates* a zealous Chriſtian, being demanded by *Valens* an *Arian* Emperour, whither he went; *I am going* (ſaith he) *to pray for your Empire.* *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Antioch*: *I will honour the King, not adoring him, but praying for him.*

So likewiſe in the Preamble of the Council of *Agatha*, where the Catholick Biſhops pray for an *Arian* King after this manner: *With Knees bended on the ground, we pray for the continuance of your Kingdom and People; that as you have granted us libertie to aſſemble our ſelves, ſo God would extend your Kingdom with Happineſs, govern it with Juſtice, and protect it with Virtue.* Proœmium Synodi *Agathenſis.*

When by the inſtigation of Pope *Paſchal* the Second, the Emperour was unjuſtly deprived, the Church of *Liege* blame the Pope for it, ſaying, *If he were ſuch as you deſcribe him, yet ſhould we ſuffer him to reign over us, becauſe our Sins have deſerved it; and ſuch a Prince ought not to be repelled by taking Arms againſt him, but by pouring out our Prayers.*

Reſp.

Reſp. Eccleſ. *Leoardenſis* ad Epiſtolam *Paſch.* 2d.

So that whether our Author will or no, it will ſtill be owned as a Maxime among Chriſtians, *Preces & lachrymæ ſunt Arma Eccleſiæ.* Prayers and Tears are the Churches Artillery; and your new *MILITIA* will never prevail againſt this *COMMISSION OF ARRAT.*

An Answer to our Author's

CHAP. VII.

Julian's Death.

THis Chapter is mostly the relation of two *wonderful discoveries* of *Julian*'s *Death*; the one of a Christian Schoolmaster, (for it seems the Christians at *Antioch*, though it were the place that *Julian* most hated, had Christian Masters to instruct their Children) who being askt by *Libanius* the Sophister *what the Carpenters Son was doing*, answered, *He is making a Coffin.* And yet perhaps he thought no more of *Julian*'s death than *Libanius*, whose expression of a *Carpenters Son* might give occasion to such a Reply.

Then for his other story of his double St. *Julian Sabba*, (for our Author hath Sainted him before and behind); *That he whilst he was praying should be in a Trance, and cry out, The wild Boar, the Enemie of the Lords Vineyard, hath suffered the punishment of his faults, and lies dead:* I cannot admit such Miracles into my Creed: but look on them no otherwise than such conjectures as *Julian* himself made, when at the fall of the man that lifted him up

to

to his horſe, he cried out, *He that raiſed me up is fallen*; and as the Hiſtorian ſays, *Conſtantius died at that very time.* But the merrieſt Scene is behind, *p.* 58. That as ſoon as the Chriſtians at *Antioch* heard of it, they had *publick joyful meetings, and had not onely Dances in the Churches and Chappels of their Martyrs,* (and then likely they had the muſick of *Organs*, or ſome other inſtruments too) *but likewiſe in the Theatre they proclaimed the Victorie of the Croſs.* Such Thankſgivings we had in this Nation at the Butchery of the *Royal Martyr.* But though they brought their *Horſe-guards* into St. *Pauls*, I do not find they *danced* in the Churches.

The manner of his death our Author reports, *p.* 59. as an uncertainty, but jumps in his Opinion with the Heathen *Libanius*, that *he who killed him was a Chriſtian*, although I have quoted two Authors who aver that it was done by the hand of an *Enemie*: Yet to ſerve his Hypotheſis, that *it is lawful for a Chriſtian to kill a Heathen Emperour*, he will needs caſt it on the *Chriſtians.*

Yet our Author, *p.* 60. ſays, Truly *this is a ſtrange conceſſion: but that which we may more wonder at, is, that* Zozomen *ſhould juſtifie ſuch a traiterous Aſſaſſination, as he doth* (*in theſe words*, p. 60.) *It is not improbable that ſome one of the Souldiers might take into conſideration*

how the Heathens and all men to this day do ſtill praiſe thoſe who long ſince have killed Tyrants, as men that were willing to die for the Common Libertie, and defended in that manner their Country men, Kinſmen, and Friends: and you can hardly blame him who ſhews himſelf ſo courageous for God, and for that Religion which he approves; in *Zozomen*'s words, ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου, (i. e.) *quam colebat*, referring not to *God*, but the *Votarie*. And then at this rate, the Murder of the two *Henries* of *France*, and that of our *Royal Soveraign* may be juſtified, by our Author's Rule, becauſe they were ſlain as Enemies to that Religion which their Aſſaſſinates profeſſed: A very dangerous inſinuation this, and not fit to be preſented to ſuch a Prince as *Theodoſius* was. Yet that Author ſpeaks of the Opinion of the *Heathen Greeks*, and of ſlaying Tyrants in the days of old (not after Chriſtianitie prevailed, that teacheth a contrary behaviour.)

They were the τὸς παλαὶ πολιτικὸς, and they were Heathens that commended them: for the ancient *Greek Cities* had wholly rejected the Government of *Kings*, and ſet up *Ariſtocracie* or *Democracie*, ſo that in time the word *Tyrannus*, which in a good old ſence ſignified a *King*, was by them generally uſed for a *Tyrant* or Oppreſſor; and if any ſuch attempted the reducing their *Popular Government* into *Monarchie*,

Monarchie, they thought it lawful to kill them. But will this warrant a *Clement* or *Ravilliack* to aſſaſſinate their Prince; or a *High Court of Juſtice* to murder their *King?* If *Zozomen* or our Author mean this, I look on them as *Heathen Greeks* ſtill, of whom it hath been obſerved,

Inter Regem & Tyrannum non diſcernunt Graii.

Lampridius wondered that no man ſlew *Heliogabalus* the Tyrant, *Cum Neroni, Vitellio, Caligulæ, cæteriſque hujuſmodi nunquam Tyrannicida defuerit.* But no ſuch thing was attempted by good Chriſtians.

An

An Anſwer to our Author's

CHAP. VIII.

How they uſed his Memory.

DE mortuis nil niſi bonum: *That we ought to ſpeak well of the dead, or nothing*, is a Rule commonly received by all men. To trample on a dead Lion is no point of valour, much leſs to rail at them that have received the juſt puniſhment of their ſins. Such language therefore as *Gregory* uſeth, and our Author would have *inſcribed on* Julian's *Pillars* long after his death, was as *unſeaſonable*, as it would have been *offenſive* in his lifetime, *viz.* p. 63. *Thou Perſecutor next to* Herod, *thou Traitor next to* Judas, (*onely thou haſt not teſtified thy Repentance by hanging thy ſelf*) *thou killer of Chriſt after* Pilate, *and next to the Jews thou hater of God.* Theſe are very *hard names* in the mouth of a *Divine*, concerning a *dead Emperour*.

Well may our Author ſay he is *wearie of ſuch reproachful and ignominious Titles which the Chriſtian Tongues laviſhly beſtowed on him.* Doubtleſs you cannot find in all the reſt of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians* ſuch as theſe: and

if

if an *Index expurgatorius* had paſt onely on *ſuch Sentences*, it would have been leſs culpable than it is.

But *what Proteſtants* (ſay you) *ever treated their worſt Perſecutors at this rate?* Shall I tell you again what ſort of *Proteſtants* treated not a *Perſecutor*, but a *meek* and *gracious Prince*, at a far worſe rate? And *who ever called Queen* Mary *Mad Bitch?* Sir, you do very ill to prepare ſuch expreſſions for the *Vulgar*: Children are too apt to learn naughty things of their Teachers. Some have called a Queen of *England* by the names of *Proſerpine*, and *Lupam Anglicanam*; which I forbear to Engliſh. But what little reaſon there was for all theſe *paſſionate Expreſſions*, you ſhew us in the next.

An Answer to our Author's

CHAP. IX.

Reflections on the Behaviour of those Christians.

JUlian's *Persecution was but a Flea-biting to what the Christians formerly felt; a short and weak assault of the Devil;* so that *if any fell from Christianitie, they were ridiculously overcome; and if they persevered, it was no great matter to lose a Trade or Profession for their Religion;* — *and this was the greatest severitie* (says our Author) *of all* Julian's *Edicts.* — *To speak properly, he was rather a Tempter than a Persecutor; seducing some with Money, others with Places of Trust and Honours of all sorts; others by the witchcraft of his words, and by his own example.* — *And as for what he designed against Christianitie, it was far short of what other Emperours had executed.* So far our Author, whom I must name, lest you should not think it his: For how could the man of *such a Character* deserve all those *virulent expressions* of *Gregory* (of which before) or those *rudenesses* of some Christians which follow in our Author? *p.* 66. *How do the Christians treat this Emperour, reproaching him, ruffling with*

with him, vexing every vein in his royal Heart, ſaying all their Prayers backwards, calling down vengeance upon his head, dancing and leaping for joy at his death, and inſulting over his memory; calling him by the bloudieſt names of the Devil! P. 67. and (pray mark them, they are our Authors words) *But for he name of Chriſtians, he had better fallen among Barbarians.* And would our Author have theſe to be examples for *true Proteſtants*?

But doth not our Author alſo ſay his leſſon *backward*, and write a *Panegyrick* for *Julian*, and *Invectives* againſt *Chriſtians*? Or is it his meaning, that if a Prince incline (though but a little) to *Tyranny* or *Irreligion*, it is lawful to uſe him as *thoſe Chriſtians* did *Julian*? He doth plainly at once Calumniate the *whole body of Chriſtians* and their *Teachers* in that Age, from the miſ-behaviours of a few; and ſeeks to *debauch* the preſent Generation, which are *too bad* already.

Julian taught better Doctrine to them that were his Chriſtian Subjects, (though he did it ſpightfully—— *Not to avenge themſelves, not to go to Law, nor render evil for evil, but pray for and wiſh well to their perſecutors*) than you do for their behaviour towards their Princes, and that ſpightfully enough: for this (as you acknowledge) *is a right courſe to gloſs away all their duty, and to break all the meaſures by which all*

all the Ancient and Suffering Chriſtians have gone in all former perſecutions. And doth it become a *Chriſtian*, or a *Divine*, one that would be numbred among the more *peaceable* and *ſtricter* ſort of his Brethren, to vent ſuch things? What? to deride the *prayers and tears*, the *faith and patience* of *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors*, and to applaud the *inſolencies* and *extravagancies* of the ſeditious Rabble? Let me whiſper it ſoftly in your ear: I think *Julian* the Apoſtate did leſs prejudice the Chriſtian Religion, than ſuch a one as *Lucian* the Scoffer. Mr. *Baxter, Chriſtian Direct.* p. 20. *I do not think* Nero *or* Diocleſian *martyred near ſo many, as the People turned looſe would have done. Much more was* Julian *a Protector of the Church from popular rage*, &c. And you ſhall ſooner waſh a *Black-more white*, than cleanſe your ſelf from that *Contagious Leproſie* which over-runs your whole *Book*: (and I pray God it hath not ſeized on your *Heart*), which you do in vain endeavour by the following Diſcourſe; which I now conſider.

P. 68. you ſay, *The truth of the Matter is this: Their caſe differed very much, and they were in quite other circumſtances than the firſt Chriſtians were. When* Julian *came to the Crown, he found them in full and quiet poſſeſſion of their Religion, which they had enjoyed without interruption for almoſt fifty years, and which*

was

was ſuch an ineſtimable bleſſing, that they had plainly undervalued it, if they had not done their utmoſt to keep it: and then to have this treaſure wreſted out of their hands by one bred up in the boſom of the Church, who profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian, and never pull'd off his Maſque till it was too late for them to help themſelves; this was enough to raiſe not onely all their Zeal, but all their Indignation too. Your *almoſt* ſaves your computation of *fifty years* wherein the Chriſtians enjoyed a full and quiet poſſeſſion of their Religion without interruption, from a great Untruth: for it was a good while after *Conſtantine* came to the Empire, that he did or could ſhew any great favour to the Chriſtians, he being brought up under *Diocleſian*, and not being baptized himſelf until towards the end of his Reign. That he baniſhed *Athanaſius* the great Pillar of the Chriſtian Religion, is not to be denyed; nor that *Conſtantius* was himſelf an *Arian*, and promoted thoſe deſtructive errours in ſuch a manner, as that the Orthodox Biſhops whom *Conſtantius* had baniſhed, and were recalled by *Julian*, ſeemed to be in a better condition under him than under *Conſtantius*; many Biſhops being baniſhed for refuſing to ſubſcribe againſt *Athanaſius* and his *Creed* in the Council of *Millain*: And *Athanaſius*, with many others of his perſwaſion, lived in deſart places until the death

death of *Conſtantius*. So that though the fifty years did run out at length; yet in all *Conſtantius* his time, which was reckoned above twenty years, the Orthodox were mightily afflicted by the *Arians*, *Donatiſts*, and *Circumcellians*. And you may as well ſay the Church of *England* had a full and quiet poſſeſſion of their Religion without interruption in the times of our late Confuſion, when every *Muſhrome-Sect* ſprung up above it, as that it was ſo with the Primitive Chriſtians during the time of *Conſtantius*.

I might add much more; but deſire the Reader to be ſatisfied with that one inſtance of the *Arians* dealing with old *Hoſius* a Biſhop of a hundred years old; whom in a Council of theirs at *Sirmium* they ſo tormented, that they forced him to ſubſcribe to them to ſave his life. And how ill it was with others, even in the days of *Conſtantine*, ſee the Hiſtory of the *Donatiſts* lately printed.

But then for *the poor Primitive Chriſtians of all, they were born to Perſecution; they neither knew better, nor expected it—The Laws of the Empire were alwaies in force againſt them—their Religion at beſt was in the world but upon ſufferance, as* Abraham *in the Land of* Canaan, *where he had no Inheritance, no not ſo much as to ſet his foot on. But as his afflicted Poſteritie were afterward Lords of that Country, ſo after another*

nother Egyptian Bondage, Chriſtianitie was advanced to be the eſtabliſhed Religion of the Empire. All this, and much more, is but Mr. *Hunts* Argument in other words: for p. 46. he ſays, *The Reformed Religion hath acquired a civil Right, and the protection of Laws: if we ought not to loſe our Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, but where forfeited by Law, we ought much rather not to loſe them for the profeſſion of the beſt Religion, which by Law is made the publick National Religion. And it is ſtrange that ſome men of the ſame Religion in profeſſion, can think* (that notwithſtanding) *it makes no matter what is done to a man if he be Religious; but if he be not ſo, the leaſt publick injuries and injuſtice may be reſiſted, vindicated, remedied, and by right defended by old Laws, or new ones to be made for that purpoſe. The Chriſtian Religion was publiſht when the whole world was Pagan, and therefore it was ſubmitted to ſuch uſage as the Governours would give it. But when the Chriſtian Faith had by Miracles of patience declared it ſelf to be of Heaven, according to the Prophecies on that behalf, it took poſſeſſion of the Empire, and Crowns and Scepters became ſubmitted to the Croſs; and the Chriſtians acquired a civil Right of protection and immunity, which they ought not, they cannot relinquiſh and abandon, no more than they can deſtroy themſelves. Such as thus periſh, ſhall never wear a Martyrs*

Crown, but periſh in the next world for periſhing in this. This will be interpretatively Crucifying Chriſt afreſh, after that he is received up into Glory, (i. e.) *after his Religion is exalted into Dignity, Honour, and civil Authority,* &c.

Thus far *Simeon* and *Levi* are agreed; and theſe were precious hints to *our Julian*; for till he hit on this *new Notion*, there was nothing in the whole Book, that ſavoured of *Common ſence*, or had any *ſhew of Reaſon*; but his Pages, as the Builders of *Babel*, miſunderſtand one another; and what one builds up, the other throws down; and after a long evaporation of ſmoak and aſhes, and ſometimes fire, (as *ancient Hiſtorians* relate of *Ætna*) our *modern Hiſtorian* makes the ſame Mountain to pour out ſuch a deluge of *Water* as drowns all the Faith and Patience Chriſtian men, and leaves onely *Julian* to triumph at the overthrow of Chriſtianity.

If theſe men be not in too great haſte, and their Guilt and Fears drive them not into Corners, I would expoſtulate with them a while: Can the Laws of men make void the Law of God? and have you Authoritie to *diſtinguiſh* where the Law of God makes no *diſtinction?* Doth not that ſpeak plain, that we *muſt ſubmit not onely to Maſters that are good and gentle, but alſo to the froward*, 1 Pet. 2. 18. and to *Parents that correct us according*

to

*to their pleasure: and the believing Wife is to submit her self to her unbelieving Husband in every thing, Eph.*5.24. not contrary to Gods Word? and is it not true, that what is said of the submission of *Servants, Children,* and *Wives,* the same may be said of *Subjects?* as St. *Augustine* affirms, after *Gregory Nazianzen.* Was a *Heathen* Emperour to be submitted to *in all things,* and not a *Christian?* Shall the Priviledges which Christian Princes grant us, be used as Weapons to fight and rebel against them? Was it lawful for the Catholicks to rebel against *Constantius* when he was a declared Heretick, and by great violence promoted that *damnable Heresie,* as Bishop *Usher* calls it, suppressing and banishing the *Orthodox,* and setting up the *Arians?* Is it not said, that *if we suffer wrongfully,* (*i. e.* against Law and Equity) *and take it patiently, this is thankworthy with God?*

Can you without Sacriledge take away the Crowns from all the Martyrs that died ever since *Julians* time, and tell us they died like Fools or mad men, and were *felo's de se,* for not selling their Lives at a dearer rate, and like *Sampson,* pull down the Pillars of the Empire, with an ἰμὶ κάβοὶ, *If I must perish, let the whole world perish with me!* Or can you think that they *perished in the next world for perishing in this,* when Christ tells them,

he that loseth his life shall save it? If it be unjust in the Prince to deprive us of our Rights against the Law of the Land, is it not much more so, for us to deprive him of his against the Law of God, as well as that of the Land too? And have we not genrally (I mean the Clergie at least) Subscribed, *That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever*, (not of Religion, nor of the Laws) *to take up Arms?* &c. Non debet minor potestas irasci, si major prælata sit: *The Laws of the Land* must give place to the *Law of God.*

The contrary to all these, are the monstrous Consequences of your *new distinction*, that allows of *Rebellion* when we suppose the Laws of the Land to be on our side: I say, *suppose them*; for Wars have been raised and maintained on such a *false Supposition.* And if when the Prince declares that he *doth and will govern by the known Laws*, we shall Remonstrate that he *doth not*, and suggest our groundless and unreasonable Fears and Jealousies that he *will not*; who shall be Judge in this Case? Shall the people take the Sword in their hands to cut this *Gordian-knot*, and cut us all in pieces? We have (God be thanked) many good Laws for our security, and a gracious Prince that hitherto hath and will govern by them: but we have one great Law of God, and another of the Land, that

that though he ſhould *not*, yet we may not *rebel.*

That *exceſſive commendation* which our Author gives of *Conſtantius*, makes me think he hath *exceeded* alſo in the *diſpraiſe* of *Julian*, p. 70. *Never any man in this world ſet his heart ſo much upon any other thing, as he did to ſee the Chriſtians flouriſh, and to have all the advantages of glorie and power: And neither conquered Nations, nor a well-govern'd Empire, nor great Treaſures, nor exceſſive Glorie, nor being King of Kings, nor all other things which make up other mens notions of Happineſs, did delight him ſo much, as to have the honour of bringing honour to the Chriſtians, and of leaving them eſtabliſhed for ever in the poſſeſſion of Power and Authoritie.* And yet as it was ſaid of *Naaman* that *mightie man of Valour, But he was a Leper:* ſo it is recorded of *Conſtantius*, he was an *Arian*, and perſecuted the Church of God.

I think I have ſaid enough already to confute the inſignificant Inſtances produced by our Author, when I gave you the *more ſober ſence* of St. *Gregorie* himſelf, of St. *Baſil*, *Ambroſe*, and *Bernard*, all which lived when they had *the Laws on their ſide*, and *the beſt Religion in the world* to defend; and yet they durſt not do it by the *Sword*, if they *could* have done it; for I ſhall not now queſtion

their *power*; *Tertullian* did assert that of old, and the Learned *Hammond* hath put the truth of it out of question, in his Answer to Mr. *Stephen Marshal*.

But says our Author, *p.* 70. *For* Julian, *who by his Baptism first, and entring into Orders after, and going to Church after that, sufficiently engaged himself to maintain Christianitie; to endeavour on the other hand to dispossess them of their Freehold, is an insupportable injurie.* It was so indeed: and I would have our Author consider, whether for a man that hath been received into the Bosom of the Church, and hath eaten of her Bread, and approved of her Doctrine, to become an Apostate from that holy Profession, and expose that Church and Christianity it self to scorn and contempt, be not to out-do *Julian*.

I shall desire the Reader patiently to look on, while I remove those few Blockadoes which our Author hath laid in my way; and then I shall attack that *inchanted Castle*, wherein those two *Giants* think themselves so secure, as to laugh at all opposition that can be made against them. That of *Juventinus* and *Maximus*, mentioned a third time in *p.* 72. is already level'd: if there were a Sham-plot against them, our Author seems to be one of their accusers for *talking too boldly* against the Empe-

Emperour, which they utterly denied. A ſecond *Sham-plot* was of *Sacriledge*, p. 72. but I ſee no man concerned in that; neither ſhall I fight with *Shadows*, as our Author doth.

P. 73. Old *Bracton* is conjured up; and he preſently flies in the face of the *Conjurers*, and tells them, that *when Laws are made by the conſent of the people and the Royal Authority, they cannot be altered or deſtroyed without the joynt conſent of all thoſe by whom they were concerned:* And yet the Laws of Queen *Elizabeth for keeping her Subjects in due obedience* are exploded as ſome of the *Grievances* of the Nation. With what face can they plead the Laws of the Land for their ſecurity, who daily violate and contemn them, and teach others to do ſo?

And in *p.* 74. our Author is ſurpriſed with the *Thebæan Legion*, which appeared to him as a Legion of Noon-day Devils; and he wonders who ſhould raiſe them up: he cries out as that Legion, *Matth.* 8. 22. *Art thou come to torment us? What have we to do with thee, O* Thebæan *Legion! what have we to do with their Example!* No, I'll warrant my Author he ſhall never *die for his Religion* as they did, he hath parted with that already for fear of what might come. And this *Thebæan Legion* is ſuch a terrible *immortal Army,*

as will defeat all *Rebels* to the worlds end. *Are we* (ſays our Author) *to go to Maſs to morrow, or elſe to have our Throats cut?* No; nor are we to cut our *Princes* Throat to day, for fear leſt he ſhould compel *us* to go to Maſs to morrow. Such fears were as groundleſs in the daies of *Charles the First*, as of *Charles the Second*, yet we ſee what was then done.

Again, *Are we under a Sentence of Death according to the Laws of our Country, if we do not preſently renounce our Religion?* No; but if we preſently renounce our Religion, as *our Author* hath done, and then contrive a *Rebellion*, we are under a Sentence of a *two-fold* death; one by the *Law of God*, and another by the *Law of Man*. The *Thebæan Legion* ſo frighted our Author, that he cannot get them out of his mind: *Poor men they were!* to ſacrifice or be ſacrificed! They never heard the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance* preached to them, but profeſſed another Doctrine which they received according to the commandment of Chriſt, and practiſed after his example, ſuffering patiently for well doing. They *never were in* Scotland, to learn that there was *a reward due to them that ſhould kill tyrannical Princes:* They never had the examples of *a Chriſtians killing* Julian, and being *commended for it in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. Theſe glo-

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rious lights and atchievements were reſerved for *our bleſſed Age*, whereof (notwithſtanding) the Scripture foretold, that *in the latter days there ſhould be traitors, heady, high minded, lovers of pleaſures more than lovers of God, having a form of godlineſs, but denying the power thereof.* And many ſuch who have called themſelves *good Proteſtants*, have made a ſhift to die in *Rebellion* under the pretence of their *Religion.*

But the comfort is, as our Author ſays, *That can never happen to us, but by our own treacherie to our Religion, in parting with thoſe good Laws which protect it, and in agreeing to thoſe that ſhall deſtroy it.* What needs then all theſe *Celeuſma's* and barbarous clamours of *Ho-up* againſt a *Popiſh Succeſſor* which may never come; or if he ſhould, can never do us hurt without our own conſent? Queen *Mary* her ſelf could not ſo much as out a Pariſh-Prieſt, till ſhe had procured a Parliament for her turn; and ſtill kept the Church-lands, and by Parliament had the Supremacy ſetled on her as far as any of her Predeceſſors enjoyed it. And if *ſuch things can never happen but by our treachery in parting with thoſe good Laws as protect our Religion, and agreeing to ſuch as ſhall deſtroy it*, why are we ſo willing to part with thoſe, whereby that otherwiſe-impregnable *Fortreſs* and *Bulwork* againſt

Popery

Popery is preſerved, and to make new ones for *Comprehenſion*, *Indulgence*, and *Toleration*, even of *Popery* it ſelf, as well as other *Sects* and *Factions?* which is the ready way caſt up by our Adverſaries to bring us to confuſion. When it is come plainly to this Dilemma, That we muſt agree to obey our Superiors, or periſh; we muſt agree among our ſelves as *Brethren*, or be ſwallowed up by a *common Enemie:* Yet no Law of *God* or *man* can prevail to keep us in *obedience* to our *Governours*, or *Charity* among our *ſelves*; Is not this as neer a way to ruine, as our Adverſaries can chalk out?

P. 76. *It is a general Notion among the Fathers, that we ought to ſpare our perſecutors, and not ſuffer them to be guilty of Murder:* Gregory *gives that as a very good reaſon of* Marcus *his flight from* Arethuſa. *Gregory* gives a better reaſon than that, *viz.* that he was moved by that Precept of our Saviour, *Matth.* 10. 23. *When you are perſecuted in one City, flee ye to another*; and *p.* 88. he foreſaw, *that if he had tarried, the people might for his defence have riſen againſt the Officers and Souldiers of the Emperour; and if they had died then, they had been* felo's de ſe. To prevent their deſtruction therefore, as well as the guilt of their Perſecutors, he quietly yielded himſelf into their hands; and though he endured great

great torments, yet, as if he had been a *felo de se*, is he as little pitied by *Gregory* as by his Persecutors: for *Gregory* having noted that this *Mark* was one of them that saved *Julian*'s life when *Gallus* was slain; *for this one thing* (saith *Gregory*) ἀναίτιος πάντα ἔπαθε καὶ πλείω πεπονθὼς ἄξιος ἦν, *he suffered those things deservedly, and was worthy to have suffered more.* This *Passive Obedience* is an abominable thing!

In the same *p.* he relates a passage of *Chrysostom*, and infers from it, that David *meant no more than onely to prevent the effusion of innocent bloud, as appears by the several opportunities he had to cut off* Saul, *but the sense of his duty made him to abhor the least thought of it.* This I like so well, that I shall transcribe a little more concerning *David*'s behaviour towards *Saul*, out of the *excellent Book* of *Homelies*. P. 287. **Now let David answer to such demands as men desirous of Rebellion do use to make: Shall not we, being so good men as we are, rise and rebel against a Prince hated of God, and Gods enemy? and therefore likely not to prosper either in war or peace? but to be hurtful and pernicious to the Commonwealth? No, saith good and godly** David, **Gods and such a Kings faithful Subject: and so convicting such Subjects as attempt any Rebellion against such a King, to be neither good subjects nor good men. But say they,**

Shall

Shall we not rise and rebel against so unkind a Prince, nothing considering and regarding our true faith and painful Service, nor the safeguard of our posterity? No, saith good David, whom no such unkindness could cause to forsake his due Obedience to his Soveraign. Shall we not, say they, rise and rebel against our known mortal and deadly enemy that seeks our lives? No, saith good David, who had learned that lesson which our Saviour afterward plainly taught, that we should do no hurt to our fellow-subjects, though they hate us and be our enemies; much less to our Prince, though he were our enemy. Shall not we assemble an Army of such good fellows as we are, and by hazarding our lives, and the lives of such as stand with us, and withal hazarding the State of our Country, remove so naughty a Prince? No, saith godly David; for I when I might, without assembling force, without tumult, or hazard of any mans life, or shedding a drop of blood, have delivered my self and Country of an evil Prince, yet would I not do it. Are not they, say some, lusty and couragious Captains, that do venture to kill and depose their King, being a naughty Prince, and their mortal enemy? They may be as couragious as they list, yet, saith godly David, they can be no good or godly men that so do; for I not onely have rebuked, but commanded him to be slain as a wicked man, which slew King Saul my enemy, though

though he being weary of his life, deſired that man to ſlay him. What ſhall we then do to an evil and unkind Prince, an enemy to us, hated of God, hurtful to the Commonwealth? &c. Lay no violent hands upon him, ſaith good David, but let him live until God appoint and work his end by natural death, or in War by lawful enemies, not by traiterous Subjects. So far our Homily: and if good and godly men anſwered *No* to all theſe Queſtions, they are not of the *godly party*, though they call themſelves ſo, who anſwer *Tea* to them; although it be not againſt a wicked, malicious, and Apoſtate Prince, as *Saul* was, but a pious and gracious one.

P. 77. *We are to ſuffer perſecution* εἰ δεῖ τοῦτο *if need be, as St.* Peters *words are, and not elſe. Now I humbly conceive, ſeeing the Writ* De Hæretico comburendo *is taken away in time, and the Laws protect us in our Religion, it is a needleſs thing to go to* Smithfield, *and there be burnt for an Heretick.* It is better, if it pleaſed God, that we ſhould die as *Hereticks*, if with St. *Paul we truly worſhip God in a way that is ſo called*, than to go to *Tyburn* and be hanged as *Traitors* and *Regicides*— For, though that Law be taken away, yet the Law of God ſtands firm, which enjoyns us to *ſubmit our ſelves not onely for fear, but for Conſcience ſake*; *and the* εἰ δεῖ τοῦτο in St. *Peter* in the caſe of our ſub-

ſubmiſſion for *Conſcience ſake* as well as *for fear of wrath*, is determined by St. *Paul* with an Ἀνάγκη *ye muſt needs be ſubject.*

P. 77. *And ſo far it is fit to inform the Popiſh Crew; leſt they ſhould be miſtaken in the good Proteſtant Religion of our good Church, as* Coleman *calls it.* I pray let them not be informed that we obey *more for fear* than for *Conſcience ſake*; No, nor that we are afraid to dye for our Religion if God call us to do it. As to your Parentheſis that *we have no apprehenſion of perſecution from any other quarter*; I tell you, we have felt a greater perſecution in our Age from *Geneva*, than from *Rome*; and if the one have ſince the Reformation in this Nation killed a thouſand, the other have ſlain ten thouſand.

Your next Reflection is on the *Pulpit-law* (as you ſay the Lord *Faulkland* called it) of *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, and *complained it had almoſt ruined the Nation.* That noble Lord was indeed a great lover of his Religion and Country, and therefore was an enemy to *Arbitrary Government.* But when he perceived that the outcry againſt *Arbitrarie power* in the *King*, was made with a deſigne to graſp it into *other mens* hands; and they began to exerciſe it not onely on the Gentry, Clergie, and Nobility of the Land, but the Royal Family alſo; he repented, and ſo faithfully adhered

hered to the King in defence of his Authority, that he loſt his life in the Quarrel. It was the *Pulpit-law* in 41. and 42. that deſtroyed us, and brought in Arbitrary Power.

But how near doth our Author come to put a *border of Treaſon* on his *impolitick diſcourſe*, p. 78. where he ſays, *The Arbitrary Doctrine of thoſe times*, (to which both he and Mr. *Hunt* impute the beginning of the Late War) *did not bring any great terrour with it; it was then but a Rake, and ſerved onely to ſcrape up a little paltrie paſſive money: But now it is become a Murdering-piece loaden with I know not how many bullets.* Who are they, I wonder, that preach up ſuch an *Arbitrarie Power*? or who are they that make ſuch a *Murdering-piece* of it? Is it not rather a *Fiction* of ſome men, who would find a pretence for a ſecond War?

For if, as Mr. *Hunt* ſays, p. 52. *That the Panick fear of a change of the Government that this Doctrine* (to wit, of Arbitrary Power before 41.) *occaſioned, and the Diviſions it made among us, was the principal cauſe of the Late War*, is it not evident that the ſame fears are now made Panick or Popular, to prepare the hearts of the People for another War? What elſe mean the *bleatings of the Sheep, and the lowing of Oxen*? the *Vulgar Murmurs*, and loud Cries of the *Multitude*, as if it were intended we ſhould

ſhould be ruled by a *Standing Armie*, and *That his Majeſties Guards are a grievance*; *That the diſſolution of a Parliament gave us cauſe to fear that the King had no more buſineſs for Parliaments?* *Hunt*, p. 22. and *p.* 60. of our Author, *That Parliaments ſhould ſit till they have done that for which they were called*, (*i. e.* ſays our Author in his Marginal Note) *till all Grievances are redreſſed, and Petitions anſwered.* And then for ought I know, they might ſit for ever, and ſo no more need of a King. What means the *denying him a Supply*, when *Tangier* was like to be loſt? and not onely with-holding their *own*, but denying him to diſpoſe of his *Credit* or *Revenues* for his juſt occaſions? What mean our new *Aſſociations* and *Bandying* into *Parties*, and advice even to the Clergie, *not to ſuſpend all the legal ſecuritie they have upon the life of our preſent King?* *Hunt*, p. 49. All theſe ſtrongly argue that they have a ſuſpition of *Arbitrary Power*; and that, by our Author's confeſſion, was in 41, (and therefore may be ſuſpected to be made uſe of now as) an *incitement to Rebellion.*

And though our Author (*p.* 78.) confeſſeth, That *the malignitie of this Doctrine cannot be diſcovered under his Majeſties gracious Reign*; yet he thinks fit to put him in mind of the *Securitie* he hath given the Nation by *his Coronation-Oath, which all Proteſtant Princes*

value

value & look upon as Sacred, and likewiſe of many gracious Promiſes that he will govern according to Law. All this caution argueth more than *Suſpition*, it looks like an *Accuſation*; though I know no defect, but the neglect of executing the Laws againſt Tranſgreſſors. *But if it do not fall out in his Majeſties Reign, it will appear in its colours, and we may feel the ſting of it, if it pleaſe God ſo ſharply to puniſh us for our ſins, as to let us fall under a Popiſh Succeſſour*, p. 78, 79. We have (I confeſs) deſerved ſuch a puniſhment, for kicking againſt our Proteſtant Princes: but by the bleſſing of God, we may not have ſuch a One: *For who ſhall be King or Queen of this Realm of* England *hereafter* (you tell us) *none but God himſelf knows*, p. 21. of the *Preface*.

But you tell us of another *may be*; the Succeſſor *may be a Papiſt*, and then he *may* perſecute: but he *may not* be; or if he be ſo, yet I have proved he *may not* perſecute; and our Author hath granted, *p.* 75. That *it can never happen but by our own Treacherie*, &c. Such a formidable Perſecution as you ſuggeſt, is a thing impracticable, and morally impoſſible: it hath never yet been acted by any Prince, Papiſt or Heathen: the *Marian* Tempeſt did not ſo deſtroy *Proteſtants*, though it had been but newly planted, but in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign it grew up again, and co-

vered the Land in a few days. Now to diſturb our *Peace* and *Settlement* with two ſuch *may be's* as are more likely *may not be*; to ſuppoſe ſuch things as are morally impoſſible, is unreaſonable, and to *fear where no fear is*, (ſaith Mr. *Hunt*, p. 250.)

But ſuch ſuppoſitions as our Author makes, ought not at all to be ſuppoſed: for *there is greater hurt to be feared from them*, (as Mr. *Faukner* ſays, *p.* 545. of his *Chriſtian Loyaltie*) *than from the thing ſuppoſed; ſince it is much more likely that ſuch deſignes ſhould be imagined and believed to be true, when they are falſe* (*as they were in the unjuſt Outcries againſt our late gracious Soveraign*) *than that they ſhould be certainly true: And every good man, yea every reaſonable man may have as great confidence that no ſuch Caſe will really happen, as can be had concerning the future ſtate and condition of any thing in this world.* For which he there gives many Reaſons, to which I refer the Reader, and proceed.

P. 80. *In this caſe* (ſays our Author) *all Proteſtants cannot flie---and many may be perſwaded not to flie.* And men are taught that the Goſpel doth preſcribe no other remedy but flight, allowing no other means between denying and dying for the Faith. It is certain this is the ſpecial remedy preſcribed by our *Saviour*, though there be other means

which

which may be as effectual as this; *Prayers* and *Tears*, and *Faſting* and *Humiliation* have done mighty wonders. When God by *Joel* (cap. 22.) threatned his People with an *Enemie great and ſtrong, there hath not been ever the like, neither ever ſhall be, even to the years of many Generations*; the chief means preſcribed by God himſelf, you may ſee was this, *verſ.* 12. *Therefore now, ſaith the Lord, turn ye unto me with all your heart, and with faſting, weeping, and mourning: who knoweth if he will return and repent, and leave a bleſſing behind him?* And *verſ.* 17. *Let the Prieſts the Miniſters of the Lord weep between the Porch and the Altar, and let them ſay, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy Heritage to reproach, that the heathen ſhould rule over them. Wherefore ſhould they ſay among the heathen, Where is their God? Then will the Lord be jealous over his Land, and ſpare his people.* I hope our Author will not *deride* ſuch *Lachrymiſts*: if he do, *Solomon* tells him who will *laugh at him when calamitie comes on him*, Prov. 1.

Again, *Supplications* and *Petitions* to our *Kings* may have the *deſired ſucceſs*: for hitherto *the Kings of* England *have been merciful Kings*; nor have any of them taken delight in ſhedding bloud, or deſigned the general ruine of their people; their *own intereſt* being bound up in *theirs*. *Magnanimo, ſatis eſt proſtraſſe.*

Beſides, it is the duty of the Chief Clergie to *reprove them* with *meekneſs* and *lowlineſs*, to mind them of a *Superiour Potentate* who will judge *all men without reſpect of perſons*; which is excellently done by *Gregory*, Orat. 17. *You govern together with Chriſt, and reign with him; you are the Image of God, and ſhould imitate him in ſhewing mercie, and not the Devil in exerciſing crueltie; but ſhould remember that he hath a Maſter in Heaven, who will ſo judge him as he doth the people committed to his charge.* That whole Oration is worthy your peruſal. When *Theodoſius* had made a great ſlaughter among the *Theſſalonians*, to the number of ſeven thouſand, and coming afterward to the Church, St. *Ambroſe* ſhuts the doors againſt him, and minds him of his Cruelty; and tells him, That *from duſt he came, and to duſt he ſhall return: Let not therefore the brightneſs of thy clothes hide from thee the weakneſs of thy fleſh that is under them. Thy ſubjects are of the ſame metal with thee, and ſerve the ſame Lord---wilt thou with thoſe hands which yet drop with the bloud of Innocents, receive the bodie of the Lord? Depart, and refuſe not this ſentence which the Lord doth ratifie in Heaven.* This wrought ſo with him, that he *repented*, and with much ado obtained *Abſolution*.

The Church of *Liege* wrote an Epiſtle to Pope *Paſchal*, when he perſwaded *Robert* Earl of

of *Flanders* to rebel againſt the Emperour, and invade his Dominions, wherein they told the Pope, That *Princes muſt be admoniſhed and reproved gently; and if they will not amend, are to be left to the juſt judgment of God.* Omne ſub Regno graviore Regnum---Reges in ipſos imperium eſt Jovis.

To the Aſſertion of an *unnamed* Doctor, That the Goſpel preſcribes no other remedy but *flight* againſt the *Perſecutions of a lawful Magiſtrate*, our Author anſwers, *p.* 80. *It is one thing what the Goſpel preſcribes; what it allows, another.* As if the Goſpel did *allow* any thing contrary to its *Precepts:* This is that the Author would be at: for none ever queſtioned but things in their nature *indifferent* and *expedient*, are *allowed* by the Goſpel without an expreſs *command.* But that which this Author contends for, is *Reſiſtance of a lawful power in caſe of perſecution*; which is againſt many expreſs Precepts of the Goſpel. The *Gnoſticks* held it lawful (for the avoiding of perſecution) to *deny Chriſt*, and to *comply with either Jews or Gentiles.* And to *reſiſt the Ordinance of God*, rather than to *ſuffer perſecution*, will be interpreted a denial and betraying of our *Religion* (*i. e.* of *Chriſt* himſelf). An Argument of ſo low a Spirit, as falls beneath the courage of a Heathen, or the hearty profeſſors of any Religion. *Seneca* ſays of his

wise man, *Placebit ei ignis per quem bona fides collucebit*; That he will embrace the Fire, rather than betray his Faith. And the *Stoick* says, *Tormenta à me abesse velim, sed si sustinenda fuerint, ut me in illis fortiter, animosè, honestè geram, optabo.* How is the valour of a *Souldier* known, but by following his *Commander* with a generous contempt of death? and shall the *Christian* Souldier that hath so good a *Captain*, be the onely coward, and follow his Master at a *distance*, and utterly *forsake him*, when any Conflict is at hand?

When therefore he demands *by what Law we must die*; I answer, By the Law of God: rather than resist a *lawful Power*, we must submit to the Will of God and our Saviour, who have promised, that *he that loseth his life shall preserve it*, Luke 17. 33. and *if we suffer, we shall also reign with him*, 2 Tim. 2. 12. And herein Christ himself hath *given us an example*, 1 Pet. 2. 21. *that we should walk in his steps; who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: yet when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatned not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.* And to such a *Passive Obedience we are called*, saith the Apostle. And it is not our *calling* onely, but an act of *Grace* and *good will*, χαρις, *given to us, as to believe in Christ, so to suffer for Christs sake*, Phil. 1. 29. which they

they that refuſe to do, are ſaid to *deny* Chriſt. So that there is little difference between *reſiſting* the Command and Ordinance of Chriſt, and *denying him:* the ſin is the ſame, and the puniſhment alſo; which St. *Paul* ſays is *Damnation.*

P. 82. As for the Kings *Prerogative*, I dare not be ſo bold with that as you are: the Diſputes between *that* and *Priviledge* have coſt us dear already: if it were as well known as other parts of the Law are, you would not make ſo bold with it, though you ſet light by ſome other Laws. But even other parts of the Law, which are very well known and approved, are yet *diſobeyed, deſpiſed,* and *oppoſed,* (as well as the Kings Prerogative) and counted the *Grievance* of a great Partie.

P. 82. Old *Bracton* appears again, and is made to eat his own words: for whereas he had ſaid of the King, That *every one is under him, and he under none but God; and that he can have no equal in his Kingdom; for ſo he ſhould loſe his command, becauſe one equal hath no power over another:* now he is made to contradict himſelf, That *Rex eſt ſub lege, quia lex facit Regem,* &c. which is utterly falſe, not onely becauſe the Kings Predeceſſors came in by Conqueſt, but alſo becauſe it is the *Royal Aſſent* that paſſeth all *Bills* into *Laws.* Mr. *Baxter* anſwers this, p. 14. part 4. of *Chri-*

ſtian Directory: That Lex *being taken for the ſignification of the Soveraigns will to oblige the Subject, the Law doth not make the King, but the King the Law.* For which he quoteth *Grotius*, lib. 8. p. 195. *Neminem ſibi imperare poſſe, à quo mutatâ voluntate nequeat recedere.* And *Grotius* quotes S. *Auguſtine*, *Imperatorem non eſſe ſubjectum Legibus ſuis.* And doubtleſs this is true in every *Free Monarchie*; as *England* is by *Hiſtorians* and *Lawyers* granted to be.

Now conſider that *Bracton* wrote in the Reign of *Henry* the Third, when his *Earls* and *Barons* often *confederated*, and roſe actual War againſt him, and made him to capitulate with them, having got the ſtrength of the Nation in their hands; in favour of whom he ſeems to write, and calls them the Kings *higher Court:* not (as ſome) *higher than the King*, but than other of the Kings Courts. Yet was this *no Parliament*, for the *Commons* are not mentioned by *Bracton*. Now let any judge when *Bracton* was in the right, and when in the wrong opinion, by what followeth in the ſame Chapter: for as our Author blames the Doctor for not *reading on*; ſo do I much more blame him, becauſe he came nearer to it. And thus *Bracton* ſays: *Si autem ab eo peccatur, locus erit ſupplicationi quod factum ſuum corrigat & emendat: quod ſi non fecerit, ſatis*

ſatis ſufficit ei ad pœnam quod Dominum expectet Ultorem : Nemo quidem de factis ſuis præſumat diſputare, multo fortius contra factum ſuum venire. (i. e.) *If the King do offend, there is libertie of petitioning that he would amend what is amiſs : which if he will not do, there is no puniſhment for the King, but to expect God to be his Avenger : but let no man preſume to diſpute of his doings, much leſs to make oppoſition againſt what he doth.* And this is agreeable to that Scripture, *Eccleſ.* 8. 4. *Who may ſay to him, What doſt thou ?* If therefore we ſhould grant it to be true what *Bracton* ſays, according to *practice* rather than *Law*, in thoſe *lawleſs times* ; yet *Now*, (as *Plowden*, as great a Lawyer as *Bracton*, ſays) *the Caſe is altered :* And the Oath of *Supremacie* againſt the *Pope*, which *Bracton* would by no means admit, and the Oath of *Allegiance*, and Act of Parliament for *not taking up Arms on any pretence whatſoever*, would have quite overthrown *Bracton's* Opinion, if he had not done it himſelf.

Our Author ſeems to apply the Premiſes onely againſt a *Popiſh Succeſſor* ; and *freely grants, that when he is lawfully poſſeſt of the Crown, he is inviolable, and unaccountable as to his own perſon, and ought by no means to have any violence offered to him*, p. 84. To what purpoſe then hath he given Inſtances of reproach-

proachful and provoking *Language*, *Prayers* and *Devotions* that helpt on his death, *all for his Deſtruction, none for his Converſion*; threatning to *kick* him, and (from *Zozomen*) encouraging the *Aſſaſſination* of him, when *Julian* was in *quiet poſſeſſion* of the Empire?

P. 94. You quote a Saying of *Aſterius*; *How great a reſort is there from the Church to the Altars?* &c. This is anſwered by Biſhop *Bilſon*, p. 502. of *Chriſtian Subjection: You find* (ſaith he) *that multitudes ran from Chriſt to Paganiſm after* Julian, *to Arianiſm after* Valens; *but do you find that the Godly did rebel againſt them? What preſumption is this in you, to controul the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God, ſifting his Church by the rage and fury of wicked Princes, and crowning thoſe that be his, as patient in Trial and conſtant in Truth! Were you throughly perſwaded that the* hearts of Kings are in the hands of God, *and that the* hairs of our heads are numbered, *ſo that no perſecution can apprehend his, which he diſpoſeth not for the experience of their faith, or recompence of their ſins; you would as well honour the Juſtice of God in erecting Tyrants that our unrighteouſneſs may be puniſhed in this world, as embrace his Mercie in giving reſt to his Church by the favour of good Princes.* Experto Crede. This good Biſhop ſays, *We have theſe twenty ſeven years endured all ſorts of calamities that may befal men in exile,*

there-

therefore charge not us to be worldly minded, p. 501. See Mr. *Baxter* to this purpoſe, part 4. of the *Chriſtian Directory.*

What our Author ſays concerning *Paſſive Obedience,* p. 85. *&c.* ſhall be conſidered anon.

P. 89. He is very angry that the Doctor ſhould reflect on ſome dangerous Pamphlets, as that of the *Hiſtory of Succeſſion, The Dialogue between Tutor and Pupil,* and another that affirms, *That Parliaments ſhould ſit till they have done that for which they were called.* And contrariwiſe, ſo far commends the treaſonable *Popiſh book* of *Doleman,* as that *it was impoſſible to write a Hiſtorie of Succeſſion, without borrowing from it.* Their Tools are ſo dull, they muſt needs be beholding to the *Philiſtines* to ſet an edge on them upon their *Whetſtones* of *Lyes* and *Forgeries. Quam bene conveniunt!*

P. 91. The *Thebæan Legion,* like a *malus Genius,* meets him again; and for their ſakes, he is reſolved rather to die a *Murtherer* than a *Martyr:* for *p.* 85. he puts the Caſe, though he confeſſeth it to be *a rare Caſe: for bad Princes ſeldom ſtoop ſo low as to be Executioners of their own cruelty.* But the Queſtion is, if they ſhould, *How far, notwithſtanding, men may endeavour to ſave themſelves without breach of their Allegiance, and of that true Faith and Loyaltie which they ought to bear of life and limb,*

and

and terrene honour. If they have a mind to know, they may ask advice, (i. e.) *How far, notwithstanding the Oath of Allegiance, men may resist their Prince.* For the Authors part, he is resolved already, but will not discover to every one what is in his heart: if he thought it unlawful to resist the Kings person, in case he should offer violence to a Subject, he would certainly have published it; but his *Silence* speaks his *Consent*. Now if the King be forced for his *defence* to take an *armed* Guard, as our *Late Soveraign* was; And our Author, with other *Malecontents* that think themselves highly wronged, because they are not rewarded according to their deserts, should meet him with *another Armed Company*, and *fight* him; he may kill his *person*, without breaking his *Allegiance* for bearing true Faith and Loyalty of life and limb, or any way injuring the *King*: for the King may be at *Westminster*, when they are fighting against him in the *Field*; And it is not *Julian* they resist, but *the Devil that is in him.* And yet I suppose that our Author, as the Law requires, hath declared his *abhorrence* of *that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his authoritie against his person, or against those that are commissionated by him.* But where shall we go to be resolved in this weighty Case? shall we go to the Romish Casuists? they are positively for *killing the*

the King; *Mariana*, and *Bellarmine*, and many others, own it in divers caſes. But we need not go ſo far; our Author hath, *tanquam ex Tripode*, determined it, in the Caſe of *Julian*, that *ſuch a King* is to be purſued, *as if he were a Midnight-Thief, or a Highway Robber*, p. 73. and 'tis as lawful to deſtroy him, as for a hungrie Welſh man to eat up his Cheeſe, and cry, **Chud eat meet an chad it**, p. 95. To this end Our Author quoteth *Gregory calling on the Angels whoſe work it was to deſtroy the Tyrant, who had not killed a Sihon King of the Amorites, nor an Og the King of Baſan, but* (in ſo doing) *had killed the Dragon, an Apoſtate, the great Deſigner, the common Enemy and Adverſary of all*, with an &c. p. 23. And again, *p.* 61. If any one had killed *Julian, he was not to be blamed* (no, but to be *rewarded* rather) *as one who ſhewed himſelf ſo courageous for God, and for that Religion which he approves.* St. *Chryſoſtom* in his firſt Homily of *David* and *Saul*, teacheth another Doctrine: *If we reverence and fear thoſe Magiſtrates* (ſaith he) *that are elected by the King, although they be wicked, although they be Thieves and Robbers, although they be unjuſt; and whatever they be, not deſpiſing them for their wickedneſs, but ſtanding in awe of them for the dignitie of him that did elect them; much more ought we thus to do in the Caſe of God.* And *Gregory Nazianzen* ſpeaks

ſpeaks home to the Caſe, in that 27 Oration, p. 171. *Continue faithful to your Kings; but firſt of all to God, and for him to them alſo, to whom you have been committed by him.* And *Elias Cretenſis* gives this Reaſon for it; *Becauſe if ye fear God, and ſtudiouſly obſerve his Commandments, you will be faithful alſo to your Kings for Gods ſake.* Now *Julian's* Souldiers, as our Author ſays, *p.* 8. were *men principl'd in the true Religion*, and therefore thought *Julian ſtood in fear of them*, as he ſays; yet they never did him hurt by *Open Rebellion*, or *Secret Conſpiracies:* nor is our Author too old to learn of them.

P. 92. He ſums up the ſtrength of what hath been ſaid, in theſe Five

PROPOSITIONS.	ANSWER.
1. *Chriſtianitie deſtroys no mans Natural or Civil Rights, but confirms them.*	1. Chriſtianity obligeth us to prefer our *Spiritual* and *Eternal* Rights above our *Temporal* and *Civil.*
2. *All men have both a Natural and Civil Right and Property in their Lives, till they*	2. Our Lives are to be *parted with* in obedience to *God's Laws*, though not for-

have

have forfeited them by the Laws of their Country.

3. *When the laws of God and of our Country interfere, and it is made death by the Law of the Land to be a good Christian, then we are to lay down our Lives for Christ sake. This is the onely case wherein the Gospel requires Passive Obedience, namely, when the Laws are against a man. And this was the Case of the first Christians.*

4. *That killing of a man contrary to Law, is Murder.*

5. *That every man*

feited by *the Laws of our Country.*

3. It is not the *onely Case* wherein the Gospel requires *Passive Obedience*, when the *Laws* are against a man. There was *no Law* of the *Romans* by which Christ might be put to death; yet *when he suffered, he threatned not, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps,* 1 Pet. 2. 19, 20, 21. and *hereunto we are called.* To what? to *suffer,* though *wrongfully*, v. 19. and *take it patiently for Conscience sake towards God.*

4. If we suffer death *wrongfully*, it is *Martyrdom*, and acceptable to God, though it be *Murder* in our Enemies.

5. We may so by

is

is bound to prevent Murder, as far as the Law allows; and ought not to ſubmit to be murdered, if he can help it.

our appeal to the *Supreme Magiſtrate*; as St. *Paul*, when he was like to be *condemned contrary to Law, appealed to Cæſar*, having *all the Law* on his ſide, Acts 25. 8. *Neither againſt the Law of the Jews, nor againſt the Temple, nor yet againſt Cæſar have I offended:* yet doubtleſs if *Cæſar* had condemned him, he would have patiently ſubmitted, after the Example of his Maſter, though he could have had *Legions of Angels* to defend him.

P. 93. *Now I deſire thoſe men who of late have thundred in all publick places with* the Thebæan Legion, *to keep that complete and admirable Example till they have got another* Maximian, *and till that* Maximian *hath got authority at once to cut* 6666 *throats.*

I think there was never more need than now, to preſs that *noble Example:* for though we

we have not a *Maximian*, but another *Conſtantine* ſet over us; no *Julian* that commands us to ſacrifice to *Idols*, but One that makes it his buſineſs that we ſhould all *with one conſent worſhip God and our Saviour in the beauty of Holineſs*. Though he have all the *Laws* of *God* and *man* to ſecure him from malitious and violent men, yet how are the tongues of wicked men *ſharpned* againſt him, (and all his *Miniſters* in *Church* and *State!*) How are all thoſe *deviliſh arts* of *Calumny* and *Reproach*, the *fears* and *jealouſies* of *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery* renewed, which encouraged a *Rebellious multitude* to the cutting of the throats not of *one Legion*, but of *twenty* at leaſt; and the cutting off the head of a moſt *incomparable Prince* too! Would the *Thebæan Legion*, that laid down their lives at the Command of a *Maximian*, have muttered a word againſt ſo good a Governour? And when the *ſame things* are attempted a *ſecond time*, ſhall we not bring forth the *Thebæan Legion* to withſtand ſuch impious practices, and riſe up in judgment againſt them, who, notwithſtanding the *Laws* of *God* and our *Country* too, would not onely *decimate* us, but, if it were in their power, *deſtroy* us (as *Nero* wiſht that the Citizens of *Rome* had but one Neck, that he might cut them all off) at a ſtroke? I would gladly add the conſideration of the

Thundering Legion to this of the *Thebæan*: They by their *Prayers* obtained *relief* from Heaven, and Victory too, for the Army of a *perſecuting Heathen*; we are taught to pray for the *Confuſion* of a *Chriſtian Prince*. But this ſhall ſuffice.

Under thoſe cruel Emperours, *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, that moſt illuſtrious example of *Paſſive Obedience* preſenteth it ſelf to our view, which the *Thebæan Legion* ſhewed, conſiſting of 6666 valiant Chriſtians; the *tenth man* of whom when *Maximian* had cauſed to be executed for refuſing to ſlay their Fellow-Chriſtians, and to offer Sacrifice to his falſe Gods; *Mauritius* taking *the reſt* of the Legion aſide, uſed this Oration unto them (as *Eucherius* Archbiſhop of *Lions* relateth in the *Acts* of their *Martyrdom*.)

I congratulate your Vertue, moſt worthy Fellow-Souldiers, that for the love of Religion the Command of Cæſar *wrought no fear at all in you. You have ſeen your Fellow-Souldiers, in a manner with rejoycing minds, to have been delivered up to a glorious death. How did I fear leſt any of you, as it was eaſie for armed men to do (under pretence of* Defence) *ſhould by lifting up his hands give interruption to their moſt bleſſed Funerals? I had now readie at hand for the forbidding this attempt, the Example of our Chriſt, who by the Command of his own mouth--*

Put

Put up thy Sword which was unſheathed by his Apoſtle: *teaching thereby, that the Vertue of Chriſtian-Confidence is greater than all Weapons: here Chriſt our God did clearly Prohibit our minds and hands, that none with mortal hands ſhould reſiſt the Divine Work, but rather with ever-continued Religion add a conſummation to the work begun. Hitherto we have read examples inſerted into the Holy Scriptures, but even now we our ſelves have beheld whom we ought to imitate.*

After this, *Maximian* having commanded a *ſecond decimation* of thoſe that remained, (among which it is likely that *Mauritius* ſuffer'd) *Exuperius* taking the Enſigns of his Legion, ſpake thus:

My moſt worthy Fellow-Souldiers, I hold as you ſee the Enſigns of a ſecular warfare; but to thoſe Arms I provoke you not: I excite not your Courage and Valour to ſuch wars as theſe; another kind of fight is to be choſen by us. It is not by theſe Swords that you can make your way to the Kingdom of Heaven.

And then wiſheth this Meſſage might be returned to the perſecuting Emperour:

We are thy Souldiers indeed; but withal Gods Servants: to thee we owe our imployment in the War, to him our Innocence; from thee have we received the reward of our labour, to him we are beholding for the beginning of our life: we can-

not ſo follow thee in this, though our Prince, as to deny God who is our Maker, and, whether thou wilt or wilt not, is thine alſo---- As for us, even this neceſſitie of our Life doth not drive us to Rebellion---- Deſpair it ſelf, which moſt ſtrengthneth men in dangers, hath not been able to arm us againſt thee. Behold, we have our Weapons, and yet reſiſt not, as willing rather to die than overcome; and chuſing rather to periſh innocent, than live Traitors. If to what thou haſt already decreed againſt us, thou wilt add more, be it Fire, Torture, or Sword, we are ready for it. WE ARE CHRISTIANS; and ſuch as our ſelves we cannot perſecute. *Conſider, O* Cæſar, *the courage of this Legion: our Weapons we caſt away, and thy Executioner ſhall find our hands unarmed, but our breaſts armed with the Catholick Faith. Kill us, down with us, without all fear; we offer our Necks to be cut off by the Swords appointed to ſlay us.*

And ſo they were all cut in pieces, and each of them were *more than Conquerours*, obtaining a *Crown* and *Kingdom* infinitely more glorious than that of the *Roman Empire.*

Now ſuppoſe ſome *Diſſenting Apoſtate Chaplain* of that noble Army, that had rather loſe his *Religion* than his *Life*, and had more

more hopes to *divide the ſpoils* of a *Temporal Crown*, than to truſt his Saviour for an entire *Eternal one*, had *held forth* to them after this manner:

'My dearly beloved Brethren, fellow-'Souldiers and fellow-Saints, we have hither-'to hazzarded our Lives under a *Pagan* and 'Tyrannical Prince, who hath employed us 'as a *Forlorn Hope* on all deſperate deſigns, 'purpoſely to deſtroy us; and though he 'be drunk with the bloud of our Brethren 'now ſpilt before our Eyes, yet doth he thirſt 'after ours alſo, having appointed us as ſo ma-'ny Sheep for the Slaughter. Hearken, my 'beloved, the Kings of the Earth ever were, 'and ever will be, Enemies to the King of 'Heaven: It is not I, but the Spirit of God 'by *David* tells you, *The Kings of the Earth 'ſet themſelves, and the Rulers take Counſel to-'gether againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anoin-'ted*; but the ſame Spirit tells us, that not-'withſtanding, *he hath ſet his King upon the 'holy hill of* Sion, who ſhall *break the Kings 'of the Earth with a Rod of Iron, and daſh 'them in pieces like a Potters Veſſel*; and his 'Saints ſhall have the *honour* of *binding their 'Kings in Chains, and their Nobles with Fetters 'of Iron.* Moreover, Brethren, we read how 'in old time, for the ſake of his Elect, God 'reproved *Kings, ſaying, Touch not mine Anoin-*

'*ted, and do my Prophets no harm.* It is true, 'that God hath appointed Government as his 'Ordinance, but he hath not tied us up to '*Monarchie*, which all the Wise men of *Greece* 'have rejected, and called them all by the 'name they deserved, *Tyrants*. And though our 'Emperours came in upon us by Conquest 'and Surprize, yet we have been governed 'heretofore by a *Senate*; and sometime the '*Senate*, and sometime the *Souldiery* have cut 'off their Emperours for their Arbitrary Go-'vernment, and set up others in the room. 'So that if we grant the Office to be from 'God, yet the person appointed to that Of-'fice is *a Creature of man*, or *a Humane Crea-'ture*; and they that set them up, may pull 'them down; for they are appointed to be '*a terrour to evil-doers*, and *to be the Mini-'sters of God to us for our good*: But when he 'is a Murtherer of them that do well, as we 'see by this bloudy Execution on our Fellow-'Souldiers, he is the Devils Minister, not 'Gods; and in resisting, we fight not against 'him, but *the Devil that is in him.* Besides, 'that which this Tyrant intends, is such an 'arbitrary Act of his own, that the great 'Senate, whose Counsel and Authority he 'hath rejected, are afraid of the like cruelty, 'and would be glad to be restored to their 'Authoritie. Let us therefore be no longer

'*Ser-*

'*Servants* of ſuch *men*, but *ſtand faſt in the* '*liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made us free:* 'Hath not he made us his *Firſt-born, higher* '*than the Kings of the Earth?* Are not we *a* '*Royal Prieſthood?* and have not the Saints a 'promiſe that *they ſhall inherit the Earth?* The '*Gentiles* may permit Kings to *exerciſe Lord-* '*ſhip over them, but it ought not to be ſo with* '*us*, Tis in vain to expect till the Empe- 'rours become Chriſtians; we Chriſtians 'muſt make our ſelves Emperours; at leaſt 'we may divide the Empire among us, and 'ſet up Chriſt alone to rule as King in the 'midſt of us, in a HOLY COMMON-'WEALTH. And now is the time, or 'never: If we ſhould tamely ſubmit to the 'Tyrants Sword, our Religion, which is bound 'up in our Lives, will periſh with us, and the 'Generations yet unborn will curſe us. Did 'not *Moſes ſlay the* Egyptian *that aſſaulted his* '*Brother?* and were not the *Iſraelites* com-'manded *to kill the Canaanites?* What if ſome 'one of our number, who undervalues his 'Life, go and diſpatch the Tyrant? *Melius* '*pereat unus quam unitas:* you *Romans* know 'my meaning.

'Once more, my Brethren, there is a Law 'and dictate of nature that will juſtifie us in re-'ſiſting thoſe that would take away our Lives. '*Self-preſervation* is a Law above any humane

'Conſtitution. *By what Law muſt we die,* 'that have the Law of *Nature* for our Self-'preſervation, which is *equivalent to the Law* '*of God?* And did not *Cicero* that great Com-'monwealths-man tell us, that *Salus Populi Su-'prema Lex?* If thoſe Infidels that are appointed 'to cut our Throats will venture their Lives 'for ſuch an Earthly Maſter, ſhall we lay 'them down cowardly without doing any 'thing for our Heavenly Maſter, for our Re-'ligion, which he hath intruſted us with, and 'will require it at our hands, if we betray 'it, and ſeek not to convey it to our Chil-'dren? And if we die without endeavouring 'it, we may *periſh in the next world for peri-'ſhing* ſo tamely *in this.* And thus I hope I 'have ſatisfied all ſcruples of Conſcience. And 'now, I beſeech you, ſuffer a word of Exhor-'tation.

'Now is the time that God will *redeem his* '*People* by our hands. Now is the time that 'we muſt vindicate our Chriſtian Liberty. 'Now is the time that we muſt deſtroy thoſe 'Romiſh Wolves that would devour the 'Flock of Chriſt. What though we be in our 'ſelves but few in number? Were not the 'people ſo by whom God delivered *Iſrael*, by 'the hands of *Joſhua* and *Gideon?* What though 'our Enemies be many? hath it not been 'known, when *one hath chaſed a Thouſand.*

'and

and two put ten thousand to flight? and may not 'the *Roman Valour*, assisted by the *Arm of Christ*, 'do more than the *Jewish?* Besides, though 'there be but this one Legion that are entire-'ly Christians, there are infinite numbers 'scattered up and down the Empire, whose 'hearts are ASSOCIATED with us al-'ready, and wait for such an opportunity as 'our stout resistance will give them. Did 'not *Pliny* complain to *Trajan*, that the Chri-'stian Assemblies were so great, that their 'Heathen Temples were quite forsaken, *Et 'sacra Solennia diu intermissa?* Did not *Ter-'tullian* many years since tell us, that the 'Cities and Garisons, and Camp, were filled 'with Christian Souldiers? and are there not 'great numbers multiplied now, and ready to 'joyn with us? And a later Doctor, *Cyprian*, 'a holy Martyr*, told us, that our number is *Ni-'mius & Copiosus:* and the numbers of such 'faithful brethren are much encreased rather 'than diminished, since that time. Be strong 'then, and couragious; be not afraid nor dis-'maid, for *Maximian*, nor all the multitude 'with him: *there are more with us than there 'are with him: With them is the Arm of flesh, 'with us is the Lord our God to help us, and to 'fight our battels. Up then and be doing, ye 'mightie men of Valour*; fight the Lords bat-'tels, and he will fight for you. Do not

basely

'basely cast away your lives like so many '*felo's de se*; sell them at as dear a rate as you 'can. It better becomes the Roman Valour 'to dye like men in defence of their lives and 'Religion, than ignominiously to have their 'throats cut like so many Swine by a bloudy 'Butcher: If we perish in such a glorious en-'terprize, yet we shall live in the records of 'the Ages to come, and give the world a good 'example: but if we survive, we shall enjoy the 'honours and glories of the world; Religion 'will flourish with us, and the Church here 'on Earth be like that in Heaven, no more 'Militant, but Triumphant.

Such have been the Harangues of *Dissenters* in our *latter Age*, and by them they have led on a multitude to *Rebellion* and *destruction:* and to such an end our Author hath proposed the example of the *Julian-Christians.*

But there was not one of these Worthies (*of whom the world was not worthie*) durst mutter a syllable to such a purpose; they *had not so learnt Christ*, as to scandalize and defame him and his Doctrine, as if they were enemies to *Cæsar: We are Christians* (say they) *we have Christs Example before our eyes to teach us Obedience and Patience, and his Command not to unsheath our Swords against lawful Authoritie, neither in our own or his defence. We value not the honours of this life,*

but

but haſten to the glories of a better; and in confidence of a ſpeedie enjoyment of them, we will not make reſiſtance, nor accept deliverance by any ungodly act. And though we ſee the example of Crueltie before our eyes in the death of our Brethren that have been cut aſunder and ſlain with the Sword, we are readie to ſuffer as patiently, as we hope to reign glorioufly with them.

Now let any ſerious man among us judge which were the beſt Chriſtians; theſe *Primitive Worthies*, who often took their lives in their hands to fight the battels of a *Pagan* and *Tyrannical Emperour*, and patiently laid them down at laſt, rather than make reſiſtance againſt him; or thoſe *Modern Zealots*, who will hazard their lives againſt a *Chriſtian* and *gracious Prince*, and by their reſiſtance, rather take away his life, than live in obedience to him, or ſurrender their own into the hands of *God that gave it*, when God calls for it? They who ſay of a *Heathen Perſecutor*, He is *Gods Miniſter, we muſt obey him, not onely for fear, but for Conſcience ſake*; he hath *no power but what is given him from above for the puniſhment of our ſins*: Or they that ſay, *This is the Heir, come, let us kill him, and the Inheritance ſhall be ours?*

If our Author be to be credited in any thing, this which he ſays, p. 68. is *the plain truth of the*

the matter : The Julian *Chriſtians were in quite other circumſtances than the firſt Chriſtians were*; they were *in full and quiet poſſeſſion of their Religion, when* Julian *came to the Crown*; *and they ſhould have undervalued it, if they had not done their utmoſt to keep it*:—*whereas the poor Primitive Chriſtians were born to perſecution*; *they neither knew better, nor expected it.* And after a large flouriſh, he *ſums up all in a word*, p. 71. *The firſt Chriſtians ſuffered according to the Laws of their Countrie, whereas theſe under* Julian *were perſecuted contrarie to Law.*

We never heard that the Chriſtians in *Julian*'s time pleaded the Laws for their indemnitie: Nor had they any ground ſo to do more than the *Thebæan Legion* had. For,

1. No Law of *Man* could make void the Law of *God*, of worſhipping *God onely : And if* (as St. *Auguſtine* ſays) *he that diſobeys the Præfect that he may obey the Emperour, is guiltleſs*; *ſo is he that diſobeys the Emperour that he may obey God.*

2. There was no Publick Law that one Legion ſhould be cut in pieces for being Chriſtians, by another ; yet this was their caſe: They were commanded by that Tyrant *Maximius* to aſſiſt him in deſtroying the Chriſtians. But they anſwered, *We are Chriſtians, and ſuch as our ſelves we cannot perſecute.* So that either the Emperour's Will was a Law,

or

or elſe they ſuffered contrarie to Law.

Therefore the *truth of the matter* is this: Our Author had committed an errour in the *Foundation*, and now is forced to patch and daub for hiding of it; He ſuppoſeth the Chriſtians in *Julian*'s time did generally do or approve of what he repreſents ſome few of the weak and ungovernable part to have done; the contrarie whereof, as to the ſounder, more learned, and pious bodie of the Chriſtians of that Age, hath been ſufficiently demonſtrated.

So that I ſhall now appeal to the *Judgement* of the *Reader*, and to the *Conſcience* of the *Author* (if it be not *feared*) whether this be not the *plain truth of the matter* which follows. The Primitive Chriſtians, for the firſt 300 years, abounded in Chriſtian ſimplicitie; they never reliſhed the pleaſures of the World; Ambition and Covetouſneſs never poſſeſt nor adulterated their ſpirits; the Bloud and Spirit of Chriſt and his Apoſtles ran warm in their Veins, and leapt for joy, as brisk as generous Wine, when it was poured out, for the Goſpel ſake, to bear witneſs to the truths thereof. Then it was that they were *afraid* to *ſpeak evil of Dignities* in the Church or State: then it was ſaid, *Ecce quam ſe invicem diligunt!* Behold how they love one another! Then it was that ſuch *Diſſenters*

ters that betrayed any truth of the Goſpel, or any of their Fathers or Brethren, were branded with the black character of *Traditores* or Traitors. If ever we will learn puritie of Doctrine, or innocencie of Life, we muſt take our meaſures from the Example and Practice of *thoſe Primitive times*, whenas yet they had ſo many Apoſtolical Guides among them, that ſealed their Doctrine with their bloud, as *Clemens*, and *Ignatius*, and *Polycarp*, *Juſtine Martyr*, *Irenæus*, &c. And therefore we of all others ſhould abhor the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance* on pretence of the *Laws*, when our Laws ſay, *We may not reſiſt under any pretence whatſoever*.

Again, is not this the *truth of the matter*, that when *Conſtantine* eſtabliſhed the Church in outward ſplendour, and Chriſtianitie was the way to Preferment and Secular honours and advantages, *Hodie Venenum infuſum eſt Eccleſiæ?* From thenceforward the ſins of Ambition, Emulation, and Contention, imbittered and poiſoned their Spirits; they grew wanton, and began to vex and diſquiet their Governours; to ſupplant, *bite and devour one another*. And *Conſtantine* himſelf favoured the Cauſe of *Arius*. But when *Conſtantius* eſpouſed and made it the eſtabliſhed Religion, then, like *Jonas* Gourd, *Arianiſm* and *Donatiſm* ſprung up in a night, and over-topt the whole Church:

Church: *Totus mundus miratur ſe factum Arianum.* Then it was that Chriſt was crucified afreſh indeed, when his *Deity* was openly denied and diſputed, and thoſe few Chriſtians that with *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, *Apollinaris*, and ſome others, defended it, were baniſhed, and accounted Impoſtors, and Seducers of the people, and dealt with accordingly.

And from hence moſt probably it was, that *Julian* firſt learnt the Principles of his Apoſtacie, which were improved by the Pagan Philoſophers that were his Tutors, who could diſprove the *Divinity of Chriſt* from the Doctrine of the *Arians*, that were the greateſt part of *Profeſſing Chriſtians*; and *Julian* made uſe of ſome of their Arguments againſt Chriſtianity, concluding, that *if he were not God, he ought not to be worſhipped.* And that Apoſtate often expreſſed a greater favour to *Arius*, and particularly to *George* an *Arian Biſhop* of *Alexandria*, whoſe writings he made uſe of againſt the Chriſtians, *ut Eccleſiam ſuis configeret telis*, than to any of the moſt pious & learned Catholicks.

Moreover, *Julian* perceived that the hatred and contention of Chriſtians was ſo implacable, that his giving them the reins would be a means to deſtroy them, without his uſe of the Sword or Whip to drive them on (as *when the dogs and wolves had declared war, the wolves ſent a ſpy to diſcover their numbers, who*

who brought word their number was great, but their colours were divers, and they did ſo ſnarl and quarrel with each other, that they were not to be feared at all.) But though *the truth of the Matter* appears, yet we are not come *to the root of the Matter*, (for that is not grounded on *Truth*) and the *bitter root* lieth deep under the ground; and this it is: (ſaith our Author) *The firſt Chriſtians ſuffered according to the Laws of their Country, whereas theſe under* Julian *were perſecuted contrarie to Law.* Againſt which though I have ſaid enough already to convince impartial men, yet I ſhall now add this further: I wonder how ſuch men can plead the *Laws of the Country* againſt *Perſecution*, who every day *perſecute* thoſe Laws, and live in open defiance and oppoſition of them; contriving and practiſing how to over-throw the *Religion* and *Government* eſtabliſhed by thoſe Laws. If the *Julian Chriſtians* did (as you ſay) pray for the *Deſtruction* of their Emperours, *reproach* and *brave* them to their very beards, and threaten to *kick* them; I wonder what Law of the Land did maintain ſuch practices: or if they could have found out ſome ſuch Law, yet the Law of God being violated by ſuch practices, God might juſtly puniſh them for the breach of his Laws: for no Law of man, that is temporarie and mutable, can indemniſie us againſt the Laws of God.

God. This is a Maxime with Lawyers (as *Lelius de privilegiis Eccl.*) *Nulla lex valeat contra jus Divinum.*

But, p. 68. Julian *found their Religion in quiet poſſeſſion.* What Religion I pray was then in full and quiet poſſeſſion? If any, it was the *Arian*, which your ſelf cannot call Chriſtian, except you add *diſſenting*. And if, as it hath been ſaid, it were as *bad* as *Popery*, it was *worſe* than *Paganiſm*. Perhaps this is the Religion of our Author: for no man likely can deride the *Doctrine*, but he that denies the *Deity of Chriſt*. But I have ſo far a good opinion of you, that you conſidered this; and do not therefore give it the Appellative of *Chriſtian Religion*, but the proper name of *their Religion, viz.* the *Arians*, or *diſſenting Chriſtians.*

If this were not the Religion that was in full and quiet poſſeſſion, what was it? to revile, and threaten, and pray for the deſtruction of the Emperour, and to contend earneſtly againſt the Divinity of Chriſt, as *Conſtantius Julian*'s predeceſſor did? who, as Biſhop *Uſher* obſerves, *promoted that damnable errour with all his might.* Was this that which you call the reigning Religion? So was that in *Cromwels* days, when *Iniquity was eſtabliſhed by a Law*, (ſuch as that *lawleſs Uſurper* could procure.) Can you produce any *Univerſal Laws*

made by *Constantine*, that the Christian Religion should obtain throughout *all* his Dominions? *Licinius* and *Maximian* cruelly oppressed them long after *Constantine* came to the Throne. And his Senate consisted of *unconverted Romans* for a great part. *Eusebius*, chap. 55. of the Life of *Constantine*, says, *he compelled none to turn Christians*; and chap. 59. *forbid any one to molest another for his Religion.* Our Author might have gone for one of the *Godly partie* in those daies.

I do not read that there was *one Law* extended throughout the *whole* Roman Empire; which was almost *Universal*, but that several Kingdoms and Cities were governed by their own Laws. So were the *Jews* and *Heathen*, as well as *Christian* Subjects, in their several Cities and remote Provinces. As *Julian* told the Bishops that were of several Perswasions, that they should not disturb the publick peace of the Empire, and then they might enjoy their own Liberties and Religion. *Constantine* seemed to be almost of a like perswasion: for why else did he not suppress the *Arian* Heresie, which from *Alexandria* infected the whole Empire? He did take care to prevent *Schism* and *Sedition* among Christians, that the administration of the Government might be more easie: But this great man banished *Athanasius* into *France*, where he remained

mained till *Constantine* his Son recalled him, as *Eusebius* in his Chronologie.

But what if there were some Edicts for the establishment of Christian Religion in *Constantine*'s days, nothing was confirmed by the *Senate*; that was accounted then a needless thing. Nor did the Edicts of one Emperour bind another: by the same Authoritie as *Constantine* might have setled the Orthodox Religion, *Constantius* setled the *Arian*, and after him *Julian* the *Pagan* Religion; I mean, by his own Imperial power and Edicts. For the *Roman* Emperour was an *Absolute Monarch*; their *Will* was a *Law*, as *Gregory Nazianzen*, quoted by you, *p.* 13. *The Will and Pleasure of the Emperour is an unwritten Law, backed with Power, and much stronger than written ones which were not supported by Authority.* So that though he did not, as you term it, *fairly enact* Sanguinary Laws, yet had he the Law of the *Sword* in his hands. And I think it was a great mercie of God to the Christians under him, that he did not by publick Edicts put the Sword out of his own hands, into the hands of his Heathen Magistrates, who would have *written them all in blood.* Therefore Mr. *Baxter* saies, *p.* 20. of 4th part of his *Direct.* Julian *was a protector of the Church from Popular Rage in comparison of other Persecutors, though in other respects he was a Plague.*

Valentinian was a right Chriſtian Emperour, and when he was choſen, the Souldiers were importunate that he ſhould aſſume another as an Aſſociate in the Empire: he tells them, *It lay in you to chuſe me your Emperour; but being choſen, what you deſire is not in your power but mine; it belongs to you as Subjects to be quiet, and reſt contented, and to me as your King to conſider what is fit to be done.* Zozomen, *l.* 6. 86.

Juſtinian was another good Emperour, and he aſſumed the ſole adminiſtration of the Empire to himſelf; and demands in his Novels, *Quis tantæ authoritatis, ut nolentem Principem poſſit ad convocandos Patres cætoroſque Proceres coarctare?* Who can claim ſo great Authority, as to conſtrain the Prince to aſſemble the Senate againſt his will? And *Juſtinian* (*Novel* 105.) excepts the Emperour from the coercive power of the Law, *to whom*, ſays he, *God hath ſubjected the Laws themſelves, ſending him as a* νόμον ἔμψυχον, living Law unto men; And the Gloſs noteth, *That the Emperour is the Father of the Law; whereupon the Laws alſo are ſubject to him.* When *Veſpaſian* was Emperour, it was declared by the Senate, *That he might make Leagues with whom he pleaſed:* And though *Tiberius*, *Claudius* or *Germanicus* had made certain Laws, yet *Veſpaſian* was not obliged by them. And *Pliny* in his Pa-

Panegyrick to *Trajan*, tells him, *how happie he was that he was obliged to nothing.* So that the Chriſtians had no more pretence of having the *Laws on their ſide* under *Julian*, than under *Dioclefian*, *Maximus*, or *Conſtantius*; nor did they ever *plead them* to juſtifie a *Rebellion* againſt him, for want of ſuch an Advocate or Leader as our Author.

Gregory Nyſſene tells us alſo what the power of the King or Emperour was: he defines him to be ἀνυπεύθυνος καὶ ἀδέσποτον, one that hath Abſolute power in himſelf, no Maſter nor Equal: *Cont. Eunomium, l.* 1.

So that our Author's great *Babel* is fallen, *viz.* that the *Julian Chriſtians* had their Religion eſtabliſhed by *Law*, and that they were long poſſeſſed of it: For, Laws or no Laws, by the *Lex Regia* the Emperour could reverſe the old, and eſtabliſh new as it pleaſed him: and for want of Laws, *where the word of the Emperour was, there was power*, and *none might ſay to him, What doſt thou?* Thus it was with *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*, and why not with *Julian?* And now I hope the good Chriſtians of *our Age* will no longer truſt to ſuch *broken Reeds* as our Author puts into their hands, much leſs that they ſhould take up the *Sword* (which will be no other than a *broken Reed* alſo, not onely to fail them, but to *pierce through their ſides*).

Now if we should turn the Tables, and ask our Author, Whether when *Jovian* and *Valentinian* were Emperours, and had made some new Edicts for the *Orthodox Christians*, as well as against the *Arians* and *Pagans*, it had been lawful for the *Arians* or *Pagans* to rebel in defence of their Religion? Or, to come nearer home, Whether when Queen *Mary* had established *Popery* by Law in this Nation, it had been lawful for the *Papists* to have rebelled against Queen *Elizabeth*, they having the Laws on their side, yea and questioning her Right of Succession too: yet we do not read that they did contrive a *General Rebellion*; though, for ought I see, our Author would have justified them, when he tells us from *Zozomen*, what men may do *for the Religion whereof they are well perswaded.*

Or neerer yet: when the *Long, too Long* Parliament, pretended against the King, that their *Religion* was in danger by *Poperie* and *Superstition*, their *Laws and Liberties invaded by an Arbitrary Power*; did they well or ill from these pretences to raise that War against the King, that turned the Nation to an *Aceldama*? Were the *Laws* such as could justifie that *Rebellion*, or no? If they could not, then I am sure they cannot now, since the late Act for *Treason*, in the 13th of our King, and a Declaration of Parliament, *That*

it

it is not lawful on any pretence whatſoever, &c And by ſeveral Statutes it is declared, *That the King is the Onely Supreme Governour of his Dominions, over all Perſons and Cauſes whatſoever.* And the power of the *Sword* or *Militia* is put into his hands, as well by the Law of the Nation, as of God; and I truſt he will not *bear it in vain.*

Having thus ſtript this *full-fac'd* Bird of a few borrowed and painted Feathers, how juſtly is he expoſed to be hooted at by every boy, or dealt with as in the Apologue of ſuch another bird, that *ſeeing the Pidgeons to be well meated and live ſecurely, he would get himſelf to be coloured and arrayed like one of them, and feed among them, that he might no longer be forced to prey abroad for his livelihood: but having fed with the Pidgeons a while, they perceived that neither head, nor beak, nor claws, were like theirs; and therefore they expel him out of their ſocietie; and then thinking to return to his old manner of life, the reſt fall on him, and baniſh him from them alſo; ſo that he was forced to remain alone as one in the Deſart.* The Moral is onely this: *Though ſome men may for their own concerns, and for a little time, love the Treaſon, yet generally all men hate the Traitor.*

For my part, I cannot ſee any one particular that did ſo juſtly render *Julian* odious to

the *Primitive Christians*, as that he had been (an Apostate) *Lecturer* in an Assembly of Christians. And if any such shall (for ambitious, covetous, or vainglorious ends) seek Protection and Encouragement from some *Great men* in this *our Age*; I shall earnestly beseech them to consider, that as *some have entertained good Angels unawares*, so others have *evil ones* to be their *Familiars*, who usually drive them over Precipices to perish in the deep: and *by their fruits you may know them*. For as our Saviour said, (*Joh.* 8. 44.) *Ye are of your father the devil*, because *they did the works of the devil*; so they, certainly, that by lyes and falshood provoke to *Envie*, *Contention*, and *Bloudshed*; they that *falsely accuse* innocent and pious persons, and *bring railing Accusations* against their Governours, such as *Michael the Archangel durst not bring against Satan himself*: however they may pass for *Angels of light* with some *deluded people*, will appear to *sober* and *discerning persons*, not as an *evil Spirit* under a *Prophets Mantle*, but in his *proper colours* and *terrours*, breathing out *Flames of fire*, raising *Storms* and *Earthquakes*; and at last vanish, leaving an infectious and noisome stench behind them.

If this *Reflection* savours too much of an *Invective*, it is what our Author's *two great Leaders* have suggested. So *Bracton* says of

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a wicked King, that he is *Miniſter Diaboli dum declinat ad injuriam*; he is the Devils Miniſter that acts injuriouſly: and *Gregory* ſays it not onely of *Julian, That the Devil was in him*, but even of *Conſtantius, That ſome Devil* (he knows not of what kind) *ſtole in with him to his Conſultations*, p. 25. And when our Author calls the *Prayers and Tears* of the Primitive Chriſtians, *Mountebank-preſcriptions*. And p. 74. *Much wonders at thoſe who trouble the Nation at this time of the day with the unſeaſonable preſcriptions of Prayers and Tears, and the Paſſive Obedience of the Thebæan Legion.* And p. 75. That *they throw away their lives, and are certainly wearie of them, who practiſe any ſuch Paſſive Obedience.* And p. 77. That *he is a* ſelo de ſe, *and guiltie of his own Murder.* And thereupon prepares men for *reſiſtance* of a *lawful Power* (though it be exerciſed unlawfully) with an *Ei qui vult viribus uti, erit viriliter reſiſtendum*; applying what was ſpoken by *Bracton* againſt the violent attempts of one *private perſon* againſt another, to the actions of *lawful Princes*; and ſo doth teach the Doctrine of Devils: for, as St. *James* ſays, *Such wiſdom comes not from above, but is earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh.*

Though this might excuſe the ſharpneſs of my Reflections on the *Author*, yet when I ſhall ſhew the provocation I had thereunto, I think

think every *truly Christian Reader* will justifie me. And this it was. When I had read that passage in our Author, quoted by him (out of *Zozomen*) p. 60. it came to my remembrance that *Milton* (*Cromwel*'s Secretarie) in his *Defence of the People of* England for murthering King *Charles* the First of blessed memorie, made use of the same quotation, *totidem verbis*, p. 44. From him also he took the Theme on which he declaims in so many Chapters. For thus *Milton*: Quid Antiocheni homines apprime Christiani? *What did the* Antiochians, *who were the chiefest Christians? did they pray for* Julian *the Apostate, to whom they came publickly, and rent him* (or, as our Author interprets it, *vext every vein in his Royal heart*) *with their reproaches, and scoffing at his long Beard, bid him make Ropes of it? And when they heard of his death, appointed publick Supplications, Feastings, and Mirth, can you think that they ever prayed for his life and safetie? What? when it is also reported that he was slain by a Christian Souldier?*

These are the *Pillars* on which our *English Solomon* hath raised to himself that *Temple of Honour*; which yet may prove but as so many *Pillars of Smoak* to the eyes of all that shall inspect them; and perhaps may have a worse effect (which *smoak* that hath so much *fire* under it is wont to have) upon the Author.

But

But, let us obſerve what worthie *Lectures* our Author reads us on theſe *Texts* of *Milton*. Chap. 3. *They reproached him in words.* This Chapter conſiſts of 7 pages. Chap. 4. *Of their Actions.* This hath about 7 more. Chap. 5. and 6. Of their *Prayers* and their *other Devotions*, makes 11 pages. Chap. 7. His Death by a *Chriſtian Souldier*; where you have the paſſage at large out of *Zozomen*, commending ſuch as *kill Tyrants*, 6 pages. Chap. 8. How they uſed his *memorie*, by joy and feaſting at his death, by calling him *Perſecutor, Traitor*, Killer of Chriſt, *&c.* with other *Reflections on their Behaviour.* Chap. 9. *Ad finem.*

He quotes alſo the ſame paſſages out of *Bracton* which *Milton* made uſe of, p. 81. *Non eſt Rex, ubi dominatur voluntas, & non Lex: exercere debet Rex poteſtatem Juris, ut Vicarius & Miniſter Dei; poteſtas autem injuriæ Diobali eſt, non Dei: cum declinat ad injuriam Rex, Diaboli Miniſter eſt.* And as if theſe Arguments which that *Mercenarie man* made uſe of to juſtifie the death of *Charles* the firſt, were not enough, our Author adds more to them; to what end, he beſt knows. But certainly, if that *Execrable Book* deſerved to be burnt by the *common Hangman* in *France*, this book deſerves to be uſed ſo by every *Loyal Subject* in *England*; it being of much worſe conſequence than

than that of *Milton*: *Milton*'s book being written when the *Father* was in his *Grave*, and this when the *Son* by many miracles of mercie is ſetled and preſerved in the *Throne*: where God long preſerve and proſper him.

And this I ſuppoſe is the reaſon that *our Author* and Mr. *Hunt* cannot endure the mention of 48, no more than that of the *Thebæan Legion*; becauſe theſe men are the very *Marſhals* and *Miltons*, the Contrivers and Juſtifiers of whatever ſhall be done *according to that pattern in the Mount*, as the old Phraſe was: A Mount like that which is deſcribed *Heb.*12. 18. *So full of terrours, as made* Moſes *himſelf to tremble exceedingly*. Perhaps they finding no Preferment in the *Eſtabliſhed Government*, hope to get a Bootie by *fiſhing in troubled waters*; and like the two Sons of *Zebedee* (for they were *Fiſhermen* alſo) to *ſit the one at the right, and the other at the left hand* of ſome Great perſon, when he ſhall come into his Kingdom. Or if the hopes of the *tranſlation* of the *Kingdom* ſhould fail, and degenerate into a *Commonwealth*, one of them may be, as *Milton* was, a *mercenarie Hiſtorian*, or *under-Secretarie of State*. But now I think on it, they will never be ſo fit as *Milton* was, of whom they come as ſhort in *accuracie of Stile*, as they may in time exceed him in other of his *Vertues* and *Preferments*.

I

I would adviſe our *Divine Lecturer* to take a *Doctor*'s degree at *Salamanca* (for he may deſpair of it here in *England*) and then he may be the fitter to be a *Caſuiſt* and *Confeſſor* to the *States General*, to reſolve their *Caſes of Conſcience*. And for our *Lawyer*, if he do but read one Lecture more on *Doleman*, and purſue his Argument as he hath begun, he that is yet eſteemed of but as the *Pick-lock of the Law*, and ſpeaks things *doubtfully* and *myſteriouſly*, as the *Devils Oracles* were wont, may come to that *Top of Preferment* which Mr. *Br.* a *Quondam* Brother attained: And though he never ſit in Judgment, as he did; yet he ſhall, if his Friends will be at the coſt, have that *Inſcription* on his *Tomb*, which was provided for the other.

Mr. *Hunt* ſpeaking of his Adverſary, ſays, p. 152. he obſerves *for our imitation, that the Orthodox did not depoſe the* Arian *Emperours*. And anſwers, *We ought undoubtedly to imitate them therein, for that no man, much leſs a Prince, ought to loſe any right for a Speculative errour, or meer misbelief: But onely for wicked practices, and opinions that promote, excite, and encourage them.* As if Opinions that overthrow the Doctrine of *Chriſts Divinity*, did not directly tend to wicked practices! Hath not this *Lawyer* been *fee'd* by the *Socinians* to become their Advocate? But might not an

Arian

Arian Emperour be reſiſted, and One who is *truly Chriſtian*, and a *Defender of the Apoſtolick Faith*, be oppoſed? And doth our Author know of any more than a *Speculative errour* (if ſo much) in him whom he proſecutes ſo violently? Or was not *Conſtantius* his being of the *Arian* perſwaſion, the cauſe of many *actual cruelties* practiſed againſt the Orthodox, not in remote places onely, but chiefly at *Conſtantinople*, where he moſtly reſided? and were not many of thoſe Cruelties acted by the authoritie of his Edicts? as I have noted concerning *Macedonius* his Cruelties.

And ſo for the *Sitting of Parliaments till all Grievances are redreſſed.* Milton, p. 80. *Si Rex Parliamentum prius dimiſerit quam ea omnia tranſigantur quorum cauſa Concilium indictum erat, perjuris reus erit.* Mr. *Hunt* reſembles him in this, as well as if there had been a *tranſmigration of Souls.* Let his Majeſtie ſatisfie his people never ſo well by Reaſon and Authoritie, and ſerious promiſes of *frequent Parliaments*; yet this man inſinuates, that he acts *as if there were no intent to call a Parliament any more*; And that the *deſign* of the *Addreſſers* was for *diſcontinuance of Parliaments*, and for a *Popiſh Succeſſor*: though he himſelf obſerves, that *in thanking his Majeſtie for his promiſe of frequent Parliaments, they do deſire them.* See his Preface.

P. 152.

P. 152. He ſays, as *our Author* doth after him, That *the behaviour of the Church towards the Roman Pagan Emperours was much different from that which they bore to* Julian, *who ſucceeded to Chriſtian Emperours, was educated a Chriſtian, and ſometime bore a place in the Church: for whereas the Apoſtles had enjoyned the Chriſtians to pray for the Pagan Emperours, though actual perſecutors of the Church; yet THE WHOLE CHURCH did curſe and Anathematize* Julian *with an* Anathema, *Quo Deus rogatur ut aliquem è medio tollat. In Julianum, cum defectioni adderet Machinationes evertendi Chriſtianiſmi, uſa eſt Eccleſia iſto extremæ neceſſitatis telo, & a Deo eſt audita. Grotius* on *Luk.* c. 6. v. 22. The whole of *Grotius* his Note to this purpoſe, is in theſe words: *Sunt quædam delicta tam atriocia, ut ſi contumacia accedat, nemo non videat eſſe* ἀναθέμα τὸν ἄνθρωπον *pro talibus, dum tales manent, Eccleſia non intercedit precum ſuffragio, quod ſolis pœnitentibus patet: Generaliter tamen his, ut & infidelibus, mentem optat meliorem.*

Chryſoſtomus, ubi anathema pronunciandum, ait, adverſus facta, non adverſus homines, intelligit diſtrictum illud anathema, quo Deus rogatur ut aliquem e medio tollat. Hujus ſanè rarior eſt uſus; non tamen Nullus: nam in Julianum, cum defectioni adderet machinationes evertendi Chriſtianiſmi, uſa eſt Eccleſia iſto extremæ neceſſitatis telo, & a Deo eſt exaudita. If

If our Author had not been afraid to discover from what Writers he collected his *Posie* of *Daisies*, as he calls it, p. 95. he would have repeated this of Mr. *Hunt*, which seems to carry more of *Reason* and *Authority* than any thing else in all his Treatise of *Julian*. And because I suspect that he may keep this for a *Reserve* (for I have heard that he intends to pursue his design against all Opposers) if he bring no other weapons but such as these of the *Church-Censures*, we shall not fear: for *these are Spiritual weapons which the Church makes use of, (and that onely against incorrigible offenders that had committed a sin to death) as their last refuge in extream necessity:* yet of these he onely says, *the Church doth not intercede by supplications proper to the penitents; yet, generally, even to these, as also to Infidels, it prays for a better mind.* St. *Chrysostome* (says *Grotius*) *speaking of the Anathema that is to be pronounced against the Actions, not the Persons, understands this severe Anathema whereby God is intreated to take away the offender from the midst of the people*, &c.

So that *Grotius* and *Chrysostome* having delivered their Judgements clearly in other places concerning Prayers for *Heathenish* and *Persecuting Emperours*, they cannot be understood here to write against their own, and the judgement of all those other Christians afore-mentioned.

tioned. To which I adde this of *Tertull. ad Scapulam: Chriſtianus Nullius eſt hoſtis nedum Imperatoris, quem ſciens à Deo ſuo conſtitui, NECESSE EST ut eum diligat, revereatur, & ſalvum velit.* And in his *Apol. We reverence in our Emperours Gods judgement that made them Governours; for we know that to be in them which God would have; and of this we make account as of a great Oath.* And the Oath of *Chriſtian Souldiers* (as *Vegetius de re Militari*, l. 2. c. 5.) *was*; Per Deum, & per Chriſtum, & per Spiritum Sanctum, & per Majeſtatem Imperatoris, &c. *By God, and Chriſt, and by the Holy Ghoſt, and by the Majeſtie of the Emperour, who next to God was to be loved and reverenced---- they ſwore to yield him faithful Devotion, and vigilant Service, &c.* And he gives this reaſon for it: *For a man, whether private or military, doth ſerve God, when he faithfully loves him who reigns by Gods authoritie.*

P. 151. Mr. *Hunt* hath another Obſervation that deſerves a ſpecial remark: *Neither will we* (ſaith he) *make uſe in our defence of the Papiſts excluding the King of* Navarre, *a Proteſtant King in* France, *no more than we will allow the* French *to murder a Proteſtant Miniſter, becauſe we execute a ſeditious, traiterous Roman Prieſt.*

Anſ. It is well known, the Romiſh Prieſts

are not executed in *England* upon the account of their *Religion*, but for such crimes as are made *Treason* by the Laws of our Land. And if the Protestants were not executed but upon the breach of such Laws, the cause of Complaint would be less than now it is. But why, on *your Principles*, a *Protestant Prince* may not be excluded by *Papists*, who perhaps are as fully perswaded of the truth of *their* Religion as we are of *ours*, and do aver that Salvation is not to be attained in any Communion but that of their own Church, I see no sufficient reason. For they may as well plead that *Dominion is founded in Grace*, as you do; and that may *equally* justifie *both parties* in case of *Resistance:* (i. e.) it can justifie *neither*. And the consequences of that *Act of Exclusion* may dread us from doing the like: For when the *Guises*, and other contrivers of the *Holy League* (as they called it) had by great importunitie prevailed with the present King *Henry* the Third to agree to the *Exclusion* of *Henry* the Fourth, the dreadful slaughters of the Subjects on both sides were not the onely evil consequences that ensued; but the *Guisian* Faction grew so insolent, as to affront and distress the King himself, so far, that fearing his own destruction, he was constrained to joyn his Partie to that of the King of *Navarre*, (to whose *Exclusion* he had consented)

that

that he might preserve himself from being *excluded* by the *prevailing Faction.* So that your *Quere*, p. 153. *Whether if the Crown should devolve upon a Roman Successor we could justifie the dethroning of him,* (which the Author of *Julian* resolves *we may not*) though the French Papists could not be justified in rejecting the King of *Navarre*, requires no long consideration.

Tum tua Res agitur partes cum proximus Ardet.

I cannot omit another bold attempt of Mr. *Hunt* in his *Preface*, where he conjures up the old *Smectymnuan* Monster of *Curse ye* Meroz, to affright all men from an *accursed Nutrality*, to bring them into the *blessed Association. It was a wise Law of* Solon (saies he) *that if the Commonwealth at any time should be divided into Factions, that the Neuters should be noted with infamie.* And that you may know what he means, he addes, *If all that are TRUE PROTESTANTS and TRUE LOVERS OF OUR GOVERNMENT would declare themselves on the behalf of our Religion and Government in such terms as befit honestmen, and as the exigencie of our present state shall require, we shall find the numbers of Addressers reduced to the Dukes Pensioners and Creatures.* And again: *Our Traitors*

tors would disappear, if we had no Neuters. And to slur the proceedings of his Majestie against *E. S.* he says, *that the name of* E. S. *in the Abhorrences of the Nation, were but like the name of* John-a-Styles *and* John-an-Oakes, *in putting a fictitious Case.* So that it is most evident that he invites, and threatens all men that refuse, to joyn in an *Association:* and to what that tends, the Nation is indifferently well satisfied already.

If not the *Comments* which *these men* make upon *that Text*, the Authors and Instruments which they make use of, such as were the most *notorious Incendiaries* in our late War, some *Jesuites* and eminent *Factors* for *Rome*, some *Regicides* that died in their impenitencie; these, and the present endeavours to *act over all* the Tragedies that were plotted by them a second time, may fully convince us that there is *Mors in Olla*, some deadly *Colloquintida* that hath so imbittered and poisoned such sort of Writings.

I must beg the Readers pardon that I have not been more particular in my Remarks on Mr. *Hunt:* his Book came but lately to my hands; a part of mine being first in the Press, and the rest called for, so that I made it onely an Essay to provoke some more eminent persons *of his own Gown* to chastise him according to his demerit, who have more

health

health and *help*, more *time* and *advantages* than I have. And all that love their *Religion* and *Peace*, will abhor ſuch perſons, as by the ſame *Methods*, the ſame *Libels*, and pretences of *Arbitrarie Government* and *Poperie*, the ſame *Arguments* as were uſed to defend the *War*, and the *Murder* of *Charles the Firſt*, ſeek to involve us in another ſuch; and rather than not effect it, will employ and aſſociate with any ſort of *Fanaticks*, *Jeſuits*, and *Regicides*, ſuch as *Doleman*, *White*, and *Milton* their great Exemplar and Tutor.

I cannot ſtand to give *this Age* a character of that Peſt of the *former*; I mean this *Milton*, whoſe very *Sores* and *Impoſtumes* theſe Authors ſuck, and ſpit them out to poyſon the People. He was one that wrote againſt the *whole Miniſtrie* and their *Maintenance*; that would have *Divorces* practiſed on every ſlight occaſion. And when I ſhall ſay, that againſt his *knowledge* and *Conſcience* he maliciouſly oppoſed *the beſt of Kings*, I need ſay no more to prove him *the worſt of men*.

That *Mercenarie wretch* was, I confeſs, a man of more than ordinarie parts: and when he came in his Chap. 4. to defend the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance* and *Regicide* againſt that Argument of *Salmaſius*, which proved that none of the Chriſtians before St. *Auguſtine*'s time did practiſe or allow of *reſiſting* the *law-*

ful Magiſtrate, though a *Heathen* or an *Arian*; he ſtretched his *Wit* and his *Reading* ſo far, as to bankrupt the reputation of them both; as will evidently appear in my Anſwer to the *ſame Arguments*, which both Mr. *Hunt* and *our Author* have borrowed from him.

And becauſe it hath been creditably reported that *Milton* died a *Papiſt*, and it is certain that he had been at *Rome*, and was there careſſed by ſome great men, (Cardinals and others) I ſhall deſire the Reader to conſider with me, whether that *defence* which he makes of the *Popiſh Doctrine* for *depoſing of Kings*, in the ſame Chapter, be not a probable Argument of the truth of that Report. For thus ſaith *Milton*, chap. 1. p. 47. *As to what concerns the Pope, againſt whom you* DECLAIME MANY THINGS TO NO PURPOSE, *I give you libertie to talk till you are hoarſe: yet that which you aſſert ſo largely, to take with the vulgar and unlearned, That every Chriſtian was ſubject to their Kings, whether they were juſt, or whether they were Tyrants, until the power of the Pope was acknowledged to be greater than that of the King, and till he abſolved Subjects from their Oaths of Fidelitie; I have ſhewn that to be moſt falſe by many examples. Nor doth that ſeem more true which you ſay in the laſt place, that Pope* Zachary *did abſolve the French from their Oath of Allegiance*; (his reaſon is) *for* Hottoman

toman, *a French-man and a Lawyer, denieth that* Chilperick *was depoſed by the Popes authoritie, or that his Kingdom was given to* Pepin; *but that all this was tranſacted by the authoritie of the great Council of that Nation, as appears by ancient Annals, which ſhew that there was no need of abſolving the Subjects from that Oath; which alſo Pope* Zachary *utterly denied: for in the French Hiſtories it is recorded, as* Hottoman *and* Girardus *witneſs, That the French did from the beginning reſerve to themſelves a power as of chuſing, ſo of depoſing their Kings; and that they were not wont to ſwear any other Fidelitie to the Kings whom they created, than that they would yield them Faith and Allegiance, if their Kings did perform that which they alſo ſwore to do. So that if the King by male-adminiſtration firſt broke his Oath, there was no need of the Pope, the perfidiouſneſs of the King having abſolved the ſubjects from their Oath.*

Yet leſt this Invention of *Milton's own* ſhould not be of weight to clear his Holineſs, he brings the Popes infallible teſtimonie for *himſelf: Pope* Zachary (ſays he) *who you ſay did arrogate that authoritie to himſelf, excuſeth it, and lays it on the People: for the Popes words are theſe*; If the Prince be obnoxious to the People by whoſe beneficence he poſſeſſeth his Kingdom, the People that make the

King may depoſe him. So that the reſult of all is, the *Pope* and *Fanatick* are agreed in this Principle, The *Majeſtas realis* is in the People; as *Bellarmine* with *Buchanan* do aſſert; and, *They that create the King, may deſtroy him with the ſame breath.*

How induſtrious this *Mercenarie man* is to vindicate the *Pope*, whenas his *own Creatures* acknowledge that he was the *Dux Gregis*, the grand Inſtrument of *dethroning* that *King*, and *ſharing* his Inheritance!

In a Dialogue between *Theophilus* a Chriſtian, and *Philander* a Jeſuit, Biſhop *Bilſon* (p. 418. of *Chriſtian Subjection*) brings in *Theophilus* ſaying: *Your Law doth not ſtick to boaſt that* Zacharias *depoſed* Childerick *King of* France, *and placed* Pepin *in his room.* *Philander* anſwers, *And ſo he did.* Theoph. *Who ſays ſo beſides you?* Philand. Platina *ſaith*, Ejus authoritate regnum Franciæ Pipino adjudicatur; *By* Zachary's *authoritie the Kingdom of* France *was adjudged to* Pepin. *And* Friſingenſis *affirmeth that* Pepin *was abſolved from the Oath of Allegiance* (*by Pope* Steven) *which he had given to* Childerick, *and ſo were the reſt of the Nobles of* France; *and then the King being ſhaven, and thruſt into a Monaſterie,* Pepin *was anointed King: which you think much the Pope ſhould do in our days.* Theoph. Zachary *was conſulted with whether it might lawfully be done*

or

or no: he did not openly intermeddle with the matter, whatever his privie practices were; though many of your Biſhops and Monks, to grace the Pope, make it his onely act.---*But hear* Zachary*'s own words, when* Volorade *and* Burchard *were ſent to underſtand his judgment:* I find (*ſaith he*) in the ſacred ſtorie of Divine Scripture, that the people fell away from their wretchleſs and laſcivious King that deſpiſed the Counſel of the Wiſe men of his Realm, and created a ſufficient man of themſelves King, (*This was likely the caſe of* Jeroboam, *who had a ſpecial Warrant from God.*) God himſelf allowing their doings. All power and rule belongs to God; Princes are his Miniſters, and therefore choſen for the people, that they ſhould follow the Will of God, and not do what they liſt.---All that he hath, as Power, Glorie, Riches, Honour, and Dignitie, he receiveth of the People: the People create the King, and may when the cauſe requireth, forſake the King: It is therefore lawful for the *Franks*, refuſing this Monſter *Childerick*, to chuſe one able in War and Peace, by his wiſdom to protect and keep in ſafetie their Wives, Children, Parents, Goods, and Lives. *This is the Popes Divinitie, ſaith Biſhop* Bilſon, *that Kings have their power of the* People, *which the Scripture ſaith they have from* God.

Now

Now as to the Annals of *France*, it is true that the Pope had not intirely graſped the power of depoſing Princes in thoſe days, but made uſe of other Inſtruments; yet this was done, ſay the Annals, *Pontifice prius conſulto*, as *Sabellicus*, and the *Gloſs* in verb. *Depoſuit*, (i. e.) *deponentibus, conſenſit*. The true reaſon was this: *Pepin* was a man on whom the Pope relied to quell the *Lombards*, and defeat the *Grecians*, that he and *Pepin* might divide the Spoils of the Weſt, as it came to paſs: for the Emperour was turned out of *Italy*.

Now let the Reader judge how diligent an Advocate *Milton* is for the Pope; that notwithſtanding his own words adviſing it, and the teſtimonie of his own creatures affirming it, and the matter of fact and the event demonſtrating it, would yet excuſe him from having a hand in depoſing of that French King. And is this a fit *Guide* for our *Modern Writers?* Is it not poſſible (as our Author ſays) but to *take many things from* Doleman *in the caſe of Succeſſion?* and many more from *Milton*, when you would irritate or *defend* the People of *England* in caſe of *Reſiſtance* and *Regicide?*

Have the *Bouteſeus* of this Age nothing to ſet the Nation into a *flame*, but thoſe *Firebrands* which were rak'd up in the Aſhes of that profligate Villain *Milton*, who pleaded the

the Cauſe of the Pope *Gratis*, and for money that of-----Good God! what a Spirit of *Rebellion* is ſpread over the Land! when, as it was obſerved by Dr. *Heylen* at the beginning of the laſt unnatural War, *No times were more full of Odious Pamphlets, no Pamphlets more applauded, nor more dearly bought, than ſuch as do moſt deeply wound thoſe Powers and Dignities to which the Law hath made us ſubject.* Methinks we are like the man in the Goſpel, *Matth.* 12. 44. out of whom the unclean Spirit being caſt out, it *walked up and down through drie places, ſeeking reſt and finding none: then ſaid he, I will return to my houſe from whence I came out; and finding it emptie, ſwept, and garniſhed, he taketh with him ſeven other Spirits more wicked than himſelf, and they enter in and dwell there: and the laſt ſtate of that man is worſe than the firſt.* Deus avertat Omen!

I beg my Readers pardon that I may animadvert a little on theſe *Libellers*, and acquaint them, that to *their Progenitors* we owed the kindling, fomenting, and inflaming thoſe late Wars, that made us a *confuſion* at home, a *ſcorn* and a *reproach* abroad. *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Baſtwick*, were like ſo many *Foxes* let looſe and encouraged, like the *Prieſts* and *Preco's* of *Mars*, to ſcatter *Fire-brands* through the Nation. Nor would the times permit

permit a little water to be ſprinkled for the quenching of them, but fed them with oyl. The *Laws* were *ſilenced* and *out-lawed* then, as they are now, as if indeed we were *inter Arma:* there wanted not *ſcourges* to *puniſh* them, but an *arm* to *inflict* the legal Sanctions.

Then it was, firſt, That *Burton* in a ſeditious Sermon compared that excellent *Prince* to *Julian*, and his *Chapel* to *Julian's Altar:* And tells the ſame ſtorie of *Maris* Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, who called *Julian* Atheiſt and Apoſtate to his face, as *our Author* hath done in print. That Male-content having been admitted to the Kings *Chappel* for a while, and defeated of a Biſhoprick to which he aſpired, turned *Apoſtate*, and defamed the *whole Order* as *Antichriſtian*. He had ſerved that *excellent Prince* in his Cloſet; and miſſing of the *Preferment* in the *Court*, for his turbulency, being baniſhed thence, he began to *court the People*, and ſought it in the *Camp*; not being aſhamed to profeſs himſelf *an old out-caſt Courtier*, worn out of favour and Friends there; which was the reaſon that he became a *Profeſſed enemy* both to *King* and *Court*.

Then it was that he made his *Pulpit* a *Drum*, to beat up for *Sedition* and *War*. *Prynne*, *Baſtwick*, *Leyton*, and *many others*, took the *Alarm*; and dipping their *Pens* in *Gall*, made way for the *Sword*, that glutted it ſelf with ſo much

much bloud. He preſumes to dedicate his *Seditious Harangues*, as ſo many *Fire-brands*, to the *Houſes of Parliament*; where finding too much combuſtible matter, he made ſuch a flame, as *warmed* him a little, but made a *general conflagration* through the three Kingdoms.

Had it not been much better that *two* or *three* ſuch *Bouteſeus* had ſuffered according to their deſerts, than that the *whole Nation* ſhould fall a Sacrifice to thoſe *Idols* of a *Seditious party*?

There wanted not then good Laws againſt ſuch diſturbers of the publick peace. The *Statute of Weſtm.* the firſt provided, *That no man ſhould publiſh or tell any falſe News whereby diſcord or occaſion of diſcord or ſlander may grow between the King and his People or Nobles.* And a Statute was made the ſecond of *Richard* 2. ch. 5, *for puniſhing counterfeiters of falſe news, and lyes, of Prelates, Earls, Dukes,* &c. *of things which by them were never ſpoken, to the ſlander of the Prelates,* &c. And the puniſhment was left to the diſcretion of the *King* and *Council.* And old *Bracton* records this ancient uſage: *Si quis Machinatus fuerit, vel aliquid fecerit,* &c. *If any one ſhall contrive or do any thing againſt the life of the King, or to make Sedition in his Army, or ſhall give conſent or counſel thereto, although they effect not the miſchief which*

they

they designed; he shall be guilty of Treason. And accordingly one *John Bonnet* a Wool-man was drawn and hanged for scattering seditious Libels in *London.* In the 4th year of *Hen.* 5. as *Stow* relates, Sir *William Stanly,* a person of great valour, was condemned and executed as a Traitor, for saying (less than *our Author* doth) *That if he thought* Perkin Warbeck *to be the undoubted Son of* Edward *the* 4th, *he would never bear Arms against him.* And in the 9th year of *H.*7. *Bagnal, Scot, Heath,* and *Kennington,* who had taken Sanctuary in St. *Martins le grand,* were taken out, and three of them executed, for forging *Seditious Bills* to the slander of the *King* and *Council.* The like proceedings were made against *Barrow, Greenwood, Penry, Udal,* and many others, who were condemned, and some of them executed for the like *Seditious Writings* against Queen *Eliz.* and her Government: concerning which I shall present to our Authors Her Majesties Proclamation.

By the QUEEN

A Proclamation against certain Seditious and Schismatical Books and Libels, &c.

THE Queens most Excellent Majesty, considering how within these few years past,

past, and now of late, certain seditious & evil-disposed persons towards her Majesty, and the Government established for causes Ecclesiastical within her Majesties Dominions, have devised, written, printed, or caused to be seditiously and secretly published & dispersed, sundry schismatical and seditious Books, diffamatory Libels, and other phanatical Writings amongst her Majesties Subjects, containing in them Doctrine very erroneous, and other matters notoriously untrue, and slanderous to the State, and against the godly reformation of Religion and Government Ecclesiastical established by Law, and so quietly of long time continued, and also against the persons of Bishops, and others placed in authority Ecclesiastical under her Highness by her authority, in railing sort, and beyond the bounds of all good humanity: All which Books, Libels, and Writings, tend by their scope to perswade and bring in a monstrous and apparent dangerous Innovation within her Dominions and Countries, of all manner of Ecclesiastical Government now in use, and to the abridging, or rather to the overthrow of her Highness lawful Prerogative, allowed by Gods Law, and established by the Laws of the Realm, and consequently to reverse, dissolve, and set at liberty the present Government of the Church, and to make a dangerous change of the form of Doctrine, and use of Divine Service of God, and the Ministration of the Sacraments

ments now also in use, with a rash and malicious purpose also to dissolve the Estate of the Prelacy, being one of the three ancient Estates of this Realm under her Highness, whereof her Majesty mindeth to have such a reverend regard, as to their places in the Church and Commonwealth appertaineth. All which said lewd and seditious practices, do directly tend to the manifest wilful breach of great number of good Laws and Statutes of this Realm, inconveniencies nothing regarded by such Innovations.

In consideration whereof, her Highness graciously minding to provide some good and speedy Remedy to withstand such notable, dangerous, and ungodly Attempts, and for that purpose to have such enormous Malefactors discovered and condignly punished, doth signifie this her Highness misliking and indignation of such dangerous and wicked Enterprizes; and for that purpose doth hereby will and also straightly charge and command, that all persons whatsoever, within any her Majesties Realms and Dominions, who have or hereafter shall have any of the said seditious Books, Pamphlets, Libels, or Writings, or any of like nature already published, or hereafter to be published, in his or their custody, containing such matters as above are mentioned, against the present Order and Government of the Church of England, or the lawful Ministers thereof, or against the Rites and Ceremonies

remonies used in the Church, and allowed by the Laws of the Realm: That they and every of them do presently after, with convenient speed, bring in, and deliver up the same unto the Ordinary of the Diocess, or of the place where they inhabit, to the intent they may be utterly defaced by the said Ordinary, or otherwise used by them. And that from henceforth no person or persons whatsoever be so hardy as to write, contrive, print, or cause to be published or distributed, or to keep any of the same, or any other Books, Libels, or Writings of like nature and quality, contrary to the true meaning and intent of this her Majesties Proclamation. And likewise, that no man hereafter give any instruction, direction, favour, or assistance to the contriving, writing, printing, publishing, or dispersing of the same, or such like Books, Libels, or Writings whatsoever, as they tender her Majesties good favour, will avoid her high displeasure, and as they will answer the contrary at their uttermost perils: and upon such pains and penalties, as by the Law any way may be inflicted upon the offenders, in any of these behalfs, as persons maintaining such seditious actions, which her Majesty mindeth to have severely executed. And if any person have had knowledge of the Authors, Writers, Printers, or Dispersers thereof, which shall within one month after the publication hereof, discover the same to the Ordinary of the place where he

had such knowledg, or to any of her Majesties Privy Council: the same person shall not for his former concealment be hereafter molested or troubled. Given at her Majesties Palace at Westminster, the thirteenth of February, 1588. In the One and thirtieth year of her Highnes Reign.

God Save the Queen.

Imprinted at *London* by the Deputies of *Christopher Barker*, Printer to the Queens most Excellent Majesty. 1588.

Now, either *our Authors* knew these things, or no: if not, they may give me thanks for minding them of these Laws, some of which are still in force, which ought to bind up their hands from the like *practices*, lest they meet with the like *punishment*. Sure I am, they are obliged in *Conscience*, if not in *Interest*, timely to beg *pardon*, and make their *Recantations* as publick as their *Crimes*. But if they did know these things, and yet act so confidently and industriously against them, *Miror admodum ut quorum facta imitantur, eorum exitus non pertimescunt*. Certainly these men think themselves in some *Utopian* Commonwealth, *ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias loqui licet*; where they think according to their own lusts, and talk as lavishly as they think: *In magna*

magna fortuna, minima licentia. Every action of our *Superiours*, every word, yea, the very thoughts and intentions of their hearts, are arraigned, censured, and condemned, as if *they onely* were to be accountable: But as for the Mobile, *Nos numerus ſummus, & magno dominamur* Atridi. The confidence of their *numbers* makes them confident of *impunity*; and the *Priviledges of the People* far exceed the *Prerogative* of the *Prince*. *Quidvis impune facere, hoc Regium eſt.*

Though *other Reſtraints* have proved ineffectual, all the wholſome *Laws* of the Land, all the ſad experiences of the national *plagues* of the *Sword, Fire*, and *Peſtilence*, which have *fallen*; or rather have been *drawn* down on our own heads by our *Ingratitude* and *Rebellion* againſt *God* and our *Superiours*, have been baffled: yet thoſe ſtronger ties of *Gods Commandments*, ſo plainly, ſo frequently, and under ſuch intolerable penalties bound upon our very *Souls* and *Conſciences*, ſhould yet conſtrain us to live more *piouſly* and *peaceably* than hitherto we have done: Or at leaſt the *Mercies* of God, who ſaved and redeemed us *with an out-ſtretched Arm*, and hath ſet over us the *meekeſt* and *moſt merciful* Prince on the Earth. His patience and long-ſuffering towards us after ſo long and heinous provocations, his defeating the helliſh Plots of our

Adverſaries, who unweariedly watch for an opportunitie to devour us, ſhould at laſt lead us to Repentance, and cauſe us to *conſider and do, in this our day, the things that belong to our peace, before they are hid from our eyes.*

Againſt the Sophiſtrie of ſuch unreaſonable men for *Reſiſtance*, I ſhall oppoſe the Doctrine of the Apoſtle for *Obedience* and *Subjection*, which he delivers, *Rom.* 13. *Let every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God: and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.* v. 5. *Wherefore we muſt needs be ſubject, not onely for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake.*

OF

OF OBEDIENCE ACTIVE & PASSIVE Due to our SUPERIOURS.

THose few *directions* of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 13. 1, 2, *&c.* are ſo full and plain, that there needs no Comment on them, if men were not reſolved againſt their dutie, and employed their wits to palliate their ſins, and deſtroy their Souls. For from that Text we are taught,

1. That all lawful Government, the ἐξουσία is from God; *The powers that be are ordained of God.*

2. That God often gives this Power to wicked men. The Powers that were in being when the Apoſtles wrote, were ſuch as *Nero* and *Claudius*, Heathen Perſecutors.

3. That in every Government there is a

Supream or *higher Power*, that judgeth all, and can be judged of none; for without such a Power no Government can subsist.

4. That such Powers must be cheerfully obeyed in all things not contrary to the Will of God; paying them *Custom*, *Tribute*, *Honour*, and *Fear*, as to *Gods Ministers*.

5. That in things contrarie to the Will of God, as we ought not to obey, so we ought not to resist.

6. That the penaltie of *Resistance* is the Wrath of God, eternal *Damnation*.

7. That we are obliged as well not to resist in things contrarie to God's Will, as cheerfully to obey in things agreeable thereunto, *for conscience sake*; that is, in consideration of the Command of God, which layeth an Obligation on our Conscience.

1. *That all Government is originally from God.* This seems to be granted by *our Author*, and therefore I shall say the less concerning it; Mr. *Hunt* also asserting, *p.* 38. that *it is impossible any thing can be of mans appointment, which is of Gods ordination: There can be no such thing as a Co-legislative power of men with their Maker. Government therefore* (says he) *is of God, but the Specification thereof is of men: and the best definition that can be made of Government, is in the words of both the Apostles,* τῆ ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσει *it is Gods Ordinance, but*

but a Humane Creature: Wherein he contradicts himſelf as it were even in the ſame breath, having ſaid immediately before, *It is impoſſible any thing can be of mans appointment which is of Gods ordination*, underſtanding it as he doth, not of the *Species*, but of the *Original Right* and *Authoritie* of Government: For *p.* 36. he demands, *Where is the Charter of Kings from God Almighty to be found? for nothing but the declared Will of God can warrant us------ to give up the Rights and Liberties of the people. If they are lawful, I am ſure it is villanie to betray them.* Here you plainly ſee the people are encouraged to *reſiſt* their Prince, on pretence of defending their *Rights* and *Liberties*, or elſe they are declared *Villains* and *Traitors.*

But let us examine the ground of this Aſſertion: He quotes 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. *Where* (he ſays) *the Apoſtle ſtiles Kings, as well as Governours under them, the Ordinance of man: which cannot have any other ſence, but that men make them, and give them their power*; *and therefore* (ſays he) *when the Apoſtle calls the power of Government Gods Ordinance, it is becauſe in general God approves of Governments*; as if there were any Governours which were advanced if not *Gratia Dei*, as our ſtile hath it, yet *Decreto ac Dono Divino*; when *Pilate* himſelf, who condemned Chriſt, had his power *given him from above.*

I wondered to read this, in a man that had ſhewed much diligence and reading (as to matters of Law) in his Treatiſe concerning the *Biſhops Right*, thus to faulter and prevaricate, in aſſerting (p. 36.) that *Kings have no Charter from God.* And my wonder is yet increaſed, when I read his *confident concluſion.* That *theſe two places* could not be *reconciled by any other interpretation but his own.* I am much inclined to think that Mr. *Hunt* knew a better way of reconciling theſe Scriptures; onely, finding no other offering themſelves willingly to ſerve his Hypotheſis, he thought to preſs this of St. *Peter* to it. Now the deſigne that he drives is againſt the *Succeſſion*, p. 42. which (ſays he) *is of a Civil nature, not eſtabliſhed by any Divine Right*: ---and *the ſeveral limitations of the Deſcent of the Crown, muſt be made by the People in conferring the Royal Dignitie and Power.* Had Mr. *Hunt* talked at this rate in *Cromwel*'s days, when he was about to make *himſelf a King*, it had been tolerable; but to talk thus in a Kingdom ſo long continued in a *Legal Succeſſion*, and ſo *well conſtituted*, that nothing but *ſuch new ſuggeſtions* are like to diſturb it, needeth *Pardon*, though he expects *Praiſe* for it.

In other things I thought Mr. *Hunt* an ingenuous and bold man, that ſpake his own Sentiments, as if he were *in Civitate libera*; and

and I would willingly have excuſed him upon that account here, or as a man labouring under the *common fate* of ſuch as meddle with *matters out of their Spheres:* for ſeldom meet we with ſuch *Blunderers* as *Divines*, when they attempt the work of *Lawyers* and *States-men*; or *Lawyers*, when they invade the Office of the *Divine*. But none of theſe things can be pleaded in Mr. *Hunt*'s excuſe: for no doubt he had conſulted with *ſuch Divines* as wrote in the time of the *Late War*, at leaſt ſuch as *had a hand* in that War, and yet ſurvived.

The *Aſſemblies Annotations* were at his hand; and I ſuppoſe he would have conſulted them, or ſuch as they were, (*i. e.*) no great friends to Kingly Government. Hear then what they ſay on the words *Ordinance of man. By Ordinance is meant the framing and ordering of Civil Government; called the Ordinance of man, not becauſe it is invented by, or hath its original from men; for all power is from God*, Rom. 13. 1, 2. *though ſometime he uſeth men as means to derive Power or Government to ſuch or ſuch a perſon or perſons, that ſo they might be the more willing to yield Obedience: but becauſe it is proper to men, or becauſe it is diſcharged by men.* And on the word *Supreme* they note: *There is therefore no other Supreme on Earth above the King in his Dominions.*

Paræus

Pareus is another *common Author*, and one whom Mr. *Hunt* probably would have consulted about this Opinion above others, he having written such things against the power of Kings as deserved to be committed publickly to the flames. Knowne apellatio ad Deum primum autorem nos revocat; *The word Creature recalleth us to the consideration of God, who is the Prime Author of Magistracie: for though Magistrates are said to be created, that is, ordained by men, yet their first Creator properly is God alone.* Thus he, in the *Appendix* to his Comment on *Rom.* 13. Dubio 3.

And there he teacheth you plainly how to reconcile St. *Peter* with St. *Paul*, whom you make to contradict each other. *The Apostle* (says he) *calls Magistracie a humane Ordinance, not causally, as it is devised by men, and set up at their pleasure; but subjectively, as it is administred by men; and objectively, as exercised about the government of humane Societies; or lastly, in respect of the end, as constituted of God for the benefit of men.*

Calvin and *Beza*, and generally all the *Modern Expositors*, say the same: and whoever reads the words following, where this *Ordinance of man* is divided, to *the King as Supreme*, and to *Governours sent by him*, must needs acknowledge, that the Apostle speaks not of the *thing*, but the *persons*. *Omni personæ, omni prin-*

principatui, cui nos divina diſpoſitio ſubdi voluit, ſaith *Bede* on that place.

Dr. *Hammond*'s Paraphraſe I think is beyond all exception, becauſe it perfectly reconciles the ſence of St. *Peter* with that of St. *Paul:* for by *every Ordinance of man,* he underſtands *every Heathen Governour, every mortal Prince.* And his *learned Notes* do evince the truth of his interpretation; which being too long to inſert, I refer the Reader to them, and ſhall onely give you his Reaſon, which is this: *That the Gnoſticks, who had ſo early troubled the Church, taught, that Chriſtian Servants and Subjects were not bound to obey their Heathen Maſters and Magiſtrates; whereas the Apoſtle enjoyns them to obey both,* not onely if they be good and gentle, but alſo if they be froward, if they be unbelievers.

We may not make our *Libertie* a cloak for *Ambition* or *Rebellion*; and pretend to *vindicate* our *Countrie,* when we intend to *enſlave it:* As *Antiochus,* who brought a great Armie into *Greece,* pretending to deliver it, when it was in a condition of Freedom and Proſperitie: And thus the *Lacedemonians* endeavouring to free themſelves from *one Tyrant,* made way for *Thirtie* to domineer over them.

But Mr. *Hunt*'s demand is, what *Scripture* we have for the *Kings Charter.* I anſwer, That *Saul*

Saul had a Charter, 1 *Sam.* 8. for *God chose him:* and how far it extended, read there, and *Skiccard de Jure Regum apud Hebræos.* And after God had rejected *Saul*, who had first rebelled against God, yet he hath the *Title* and the *Reverence* of *the Lords Anointed* given him by *David* still. And God himself calls *Cyrus* his *Anointed* (though a Heathen). And *Daniel* acknowledged of *Nebuchadnezzar, The God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, strength, and glorie*, Dan. 2. 27. These then had it not from the *People.*

Pilate himself, though an Inferiour Magistrate, had his *Charter owned* and *submitted to* by *Christ himself.* And when it is said in the Old Testament, *By me Kings reign*, Prov. 8. 15. and in the New, even of the *Roman Emperours*, such as *Nero* and *Claudius*, that they *are ordained by God*, and that our Obedience is due to them *for the Lords sake*, and *for Conscience sake*; He must be an *Ignoramus*, or worse, that can see in *Scripture* a *Charter* for the *Peoples* rights and power even to *resist* their *Prince*, and none for the *Prince* to *vindicate* his Authoritie over the People.

It would be irksome to the Reader to relate what is obvious in *Heathen Writers* concerning the Original of *Kingly power. Nature did at first find out a King*, saith *Seneca*: And *Aristotle* says, *That by nature not onely the Father hath*

hath rule over his Children, but alſo the King over thoſe that are within his Kingdom. This is the Government that God himſelf erected from the beginning, giving to *Adam* a *Patriarchal*, which is tantamount to a *Monarchal power*. This he granted to *Iſrael*, and continued to the coming of Chriſt. To this power in the *Romans*, Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſubmit *themſelves*, and command *every Soul* to follow their examples: and all the *Primitive Chriſtians* did ſo, till the Pope of *Rome*, to the great ſcandal of Chriſtianitie, invaded the *Thrones*, and uſurped the *power* of their *lawful Emperours*. *Gregory* the Seventh, Pope *Urbane*, and *Paſchal* were the firſt that ſtirred up *Subjects* againſt their *Princes*, and the *Son* againſt his *Father*.

We are taught (ſaith *Polycarp*) *to yield Obedience to all Principalities under God, except in things deſtructive to our Souls. Therefore do as you pleaſe; caſt me to wild beaſts or the fire, which is not to be compared to that eternal fire prepared for the ungodly.* In the *Conſtitutions* of *Clemens*, it is declared a hainous ſin to *reſiſt the Prince*: and the *Councils* for 1200 years taught no other Doctrine. And when thoſe Popes firſt turned Rebels, and proceeded ſo imperiouſly as to *Excommunicate* the Biſhop and Church-men of *Liege* for adhering to the Emperour, and ſtirred up *Robert* Earl

of

of *Flanders* to destroy all that Clergie; they wrote a most excellent Epistle, declaring, *That they never had heard of any such Doctrine or Practice from any of the Fathers, and that they had observed fearful Judgments of God falling on such as did rebel against their Princes.* And so it fell out: for all the Popes great Instruments, *Radolphus*, and *Herman*, and *Egbert*, were cut off; and gave the World *magnum Documentum*, a severe Caution not to rise up against their Princes, no not for the sake of *an Infallible Pope.*

This was the sence of the Primitive Fathers. *Irenæus* proves it by Scripture, and concludes, *By whose command they are born men, by his command they are made Princes.* So *Tertul.* Inde Imperator, unde homo; inde potestas, unde Spiritus. *It is God* (saith *Origen*) *who setteth up Kings, and removeth them; and in his own time raiseth up such a one as is useful to the State:* Contra Celsum. *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch*; *I will honour the King, not adoring him, but praying for him; knowing that by God the King is ordained.* So *Athenagoras*, of *Aurelius* and his Son *Commodus*, says, *They had received the Kingdom from above.* St. *Basil* also on *Psal.* 32. *The Lord setteth up Kings, and removeth them; and there is no power but what is ordained of God.* And to conclude with *Greg. Nazianzen*, concerning the Power of the Gover-

Governor of his Province, *Orat.* 17. to the Citizens of *Antioch*, *That together with Christ he did rule the people committed to his charge; that from him he had received the Sword, and was to be accounted as the Image of God.* So S. *Chryſoſtom*: *And if we reverence thoſe Officers that are choſen by the King, though they be wicked, though they be Thieves and Robbers, not deſpiſing them for their wickedneſs, but ſtanding in awe of them for the dignitie of him that elected them; much more ought we thus to do in the caſe of God, and the King choſen by him.* Serm. 1. of *David* and *Saul.*

So that *even wicked Princes* have a *Charter* from God. So, our Saviour ſaid of *Pilate*, Joh. 19. 11. *Thou couldeſt have no* ἐξουσία *authoritie or power againſt me, except it were given thee from above.* And St. *Paul* of the Roman Emperors, *There is no power but of God, the powers that be, are ordained of God; and he that reſiſts, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God.* And that St. *Peter* ſays the ſame, though in other words, hath been made evident: *Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, whether to the King as ſupreme: for ſo is the will of God*, 1 Pet. 2. 13-15.

St. *Auguſtine*, *de Civitate Dei*, l. 5. c. 21. Regnum terrenum dat Deus piis & impiis: Qui Mario, ipſe Caio Cæſari; qui Auguſto, ipſe & Neroni, &c. *God gives an Earthly King-*

Kingdom both to good and evil Princes: He that gave it to Marius, *gave it to* Caius Cæsar; *he that gave it to* Augustus, *gave it to* Nero; *he who gave it to the* Vespasians, *Father and Son, most mild and loving Emperours, gave it likewise to that most cruel man* Domitian: *And not to recount them all, he that gave it to that Christian Prince* Constantine, *gave it to that Apostate* Julian. *These things, without doubt, that one and true God doth rule and govern as he pleaseth, although for secret causes, yet not for unjust.* So the Prophet, *Dan.* 2. 37. *Thou, O King, art a King of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, strength, and glorie.* And chap. 5. 21. *The most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will,* chap. 4.

And as God setteth them in the Throne, so he rules by them, and over-rules them, guiding all their actions to his own just and wise ends. If all the Princes of the World should conspire, they can do no more than *what Gods hand and counsel have determined before to be done,* Acts 4. 28. God knows how to effect *good* and *gracious ends,* even by *wicked Kings.* He made *Cyrus* an Instrument to build him a House in *Jerusalem,* 2 Chron. 36. 23. and calls *Nebuchadnezzar* his *Servant,* Jer. 25. 9. *The heart of the King is in the hands of the Lord as the rivers of water; he turneth*

it

it whitherſoever he pleaſeth. He can reſtrain the ſpirits of Princes, as he did *Abimelech*, and not ſuffer them to *touch* his People. He can cauſe the *wrath of man to turn to his praiſe.* He ſtirred up the ſpirit of *Cyrus* to deliver the *Jews* from the Captivitie of *Babylon*, Ezra 1.1. He made *Darius* and *Artaxerxes* inſtrumental in building and beautifying the Houſe of the Lord, *Ezra* 6.22. and chap.7.27.

Wherefore, as the Pſalmiſt ſays, *Pſal.* 97.1. *The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoyce: let the multitude of the iſles be glad thereof.* For though *Clouds and Darkneſs are round about him*, and we cannot ſee the *reaſon* or *end* of his Providences; yet *Righteouſneſs and Judgment are the habitation of his Throne*, v. 2. Were the Almightie like the *Epicureans* God, that *could not intend* the affairs of the world without *great trouble*, and therefore *retired* himſelf, and left all to *Chance*, we might then think it fit to chuſe for our ſelves: but when every Choice and every Chance is ordered by the *Almightie* and *wiſe God*; when it is ſaid, 1 *Sam.* 18. 18. The *people* had *choſen Saul*, *chap.* 10. 24. it is ſaid, *The Lord* had *choſen* him. And if the Magiſtrate be choſen by *Lot*, yet, as *Solomon* ſays, *Prov.* 16. 33. *The Lot is caſt into the lap, but the whole diſpoſition thereof is of the Lord.* We may not ſay therefore as that Prince did, 2 *King.* 6. 33. when

God had ſent a Famine in *Samaria*, *This evil is from the Lord, why ſhould I wait on him any longer?* much leſs ſhould we reſiſt the eſtabliſhed Ordinance of Heaven: for, *if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, leſt haply ye be found even to fight againſt God,* Acts 5. 39. in whoſe all-wiſe diſpenſations we ought to acquieſce, and patiently to ſubmit to them.

When *Jeroboam* rebelled againſt *Rehoboam* a wicked Prince, you may find what a *black character* he and his Confederates have in the Scripture, 2 *Chron.* 13. 5. *Ought you not to know that the Lord God of Iſrael gave the kingdom over Iſrael to* David *and to his ſons for ever, by a covenant of ſalt?* yet Jeroboam *the ſervant of* Solomon *the ſon of* David *is riſen up, and hath rebelled againſt his Lord. And there are gathered to him VAIN MEN THE CHILDREN OF BELIAL, and have ſtrengthned themſelves againſt* Rehoboam *when he was young and tender-hearted, and could not withſtand them. And now ye think to withſtand the kingdom of the Lord in the hands of the ſons of* David.—v. 12. *O ye children of Iſrael, fight ye not againſt the Lord God of your fathers: for ye ſhall not proſper.* From this Scripture theſe Obſervations are obvious.

1. That

1. That a *Succeſſion* to the Crown, *Jure Divino*, is no new thing, *v.* 5.

2. That it is no *Excuſe* for *breaking Gods Command*, to plead *we followed Providence.*

3. That to *rebel* againſt an *evil Prince*, ſuch as *Rehoboam* was, is to *rebel againſt the Lord*, v. 8.

4. That ſuch as *ſtrengthen* ſuch a *Rebellion*, are *Sons of Belial*, v. 7.

5. That the Kings hearkning to *evil Counſellors*, is no ſufficient Plea to warrant a *Rebellion.*

6. Nor his *oppreſſing* the People.

7. That notwithſtanding their *great numbers* (*Jeroboam* having eight hundred thouſand choſen men of valour) *they ſhall not proſper*, v. 12. and v. 17. *there fell with* Jeroboam *five hundred thouſand men of valour.*

8. That *Rehoboam* was not ſo bad, but *Jeroboam* was much worſe: for he *made all Iſrael to ſin*, ſetting up *Calves* as *Gods*, for the People to worſhip; whereas under *Rehoboam* the Worſhip of God was preſerved (though the People were oppreſſed) v. 10. *The Lord is our God, and we have not forſaken him; and the Prieſts which miniſter to the Lord, are the ſons of* Aaron, *and the Levites wait upon their buſineſs.*

9. That after that bad King, God sent other, good ones, to establish his Worship: and therefore we must wait the Lords leisure, and not murmur against, nor resist his Ordinance and Decrees, but submit to the hand of God, who often punisheth a *wicked People* by an *unrighteous Prince*.

HOW

HOW FAR
Wicked Princes
Ought to be obeyed.

1. NEgatively: not in any thing contrary to the *revealed Will* of God: to all Gods Laws they are bound themselves, *Deut.* 17. 18. And God will call them to a more severe account than others, there being greater obligations laid on them, and their evil Examples like to do more hurt. And much more are we bound to obey those Laws of God which oblige the greatest Potentates, above any Laws of men. 'Tis St. *Augustine*'s Gradation, *De Verbis Dom.* Ser. 6. *If thy Curator command thee any thing, must it not be done? yet if the Proconsul countermand it, thou despisest not thy Curator, but servest a greater. And if the Emperour command one thing, and God another, what do you judge fit to be done?* And it is resolved thus: *Da veniam Imperator; tu carcerem, ille Gehen-*

nam minatur : We ought to obey God rather than man.

2. Positively: In all things that are not contrary to Gods Will, we ought cheerfully to obey: So St. *Basil* ὁ τῶν ἐντολῶν θεὸς μὴ ὑπαπόδεξε, *Regula Ethic.* 79. *Where the Command of God doth not hinder or interpose.* For otherwise they have no power at all. Whatever is *really good*, God hath commanded us already, and forbidden *whatever is evil*; but hath left the command of *things indifferent* to his *Vicegerents*, to judge of the expediencie and usefulnes of them: And if we obey them not in this, we obey them in nothing. Which is well expressed by *Aulus Gellius* a Heathen, in the person of a Father commanding either what is right or what is wrong. *If it be right, it is to be done, not because he commands it, but justice requires it: If it be wrong, it ought not to be done, because it is unjust; and therefore the Father is not to be obeyed in any thing.* To this *Aulus Gellius* answers, *that the division is imperfect, because there are things of a middle nature, wherein the Father is to be obeyed with a filial ingenuity and readiness*: which is much more strong in behalf of the Prince.

The word used by the Apostle is ὑποτάσσεσθαι a military word, signifying to be *under command*: and as the *Centurion* said of his Souldiers, *Matth.* 8. 9. *If I say to this man, Go, he goeth;*

goeth; to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my Servant, Do this, and he doeth it. And thus the *Centurion* did himself: for he was ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν *under Authoritie.* And such obedience we must yield, as St. *Paul* requires by *Titus* 3. 1. where to the ὑποτάσσεσθαι he addes, πειθαρχεῖν, (i. e.) *dicto obedire*, and to be *ready to every good work.*

We ought to obey even a Popish Prince, saith Mr. *Baxter.* And there can be no question but we ought to obey them in what God hath commanded: *We ought to pay them Tribute and Custom,* as *Tertullian* testifies of the *Primitive Christians:* we ought to shew them *Reverence, Honour,* and *Fear:* we ought, as good and profitable Members of the Commonwealth, diligently to follow our Callings, and advance *the Trade* and happiness of the Nation: We ought to *defend their Persons,* and *fight their Battles* against their Enemies; and in extraordinary cases, to give them *extraordinary assistance. We bring unto you,* said *Justine* Martyr to *Antonius, more help and Tribute than all others, being taught by our Lord to give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars: We ought to pray for the welfare of them and their people, that with and under them we may lead quiet and peaceable lives.* So *Tertullian* prayed for *Domitian* a great Tyrant, for *his long Life, secure Empire, stout Armies, faith-*

ful Senators, & quæcunque hominis & *Cæsaris* vota sunt. We ought to bless God for the *good things* we enjoy under them; we ought not to *envy* at their *prosperitie*, to *murmur* and *repine* at every *severe Dispensation*; but to our *Prayers* joyn *Intercessions* and *Thanksgivings*: for though there be some *Evils* in their Government, yet there would be more, if that *Government* should be turned into *Anarchy* and *Confusion*.

Si ubi jubeantur (Milites) quærere singulis liceat, pereunte obsequio, etiam Imperium intercidit, as *Tacitus*, l. 1. *If Souldiers be permitted to dispute the Commands of their General, the whole Empire may fail on the neglect of obedience.* It was a severe Counsel given by St. *Augustine* (Epist. 73.) to *Possidonius*: *Rather think what course you ought to take with them that will not obey, than to convince them that what they do is unlawful.* And in truth, there would be endless *Dissentions*, if every Subject should be permitted to *dispute* the lawfulness of such Commands as are enjoyned him, not by his *Prince alone*, but by the *mature deliberation* of his *Council*; especially when, as it is with us, *every one* hath his *vote* in chusing those *Counsellor*, that in our names consent to the Laws. This were to do what is foretold by *Solomon*, Prov. 20. 25. *After vows to make enquiry.*

It

It is a pernicious Opinion, that hath infected too many of this Age, *That though we do not actively obey the Princes Commands, yet if we ſubmit to the Penalty, the Law is ſatisfied, and we are free from guilt.* In anſwer to which, I ſay:

1. That *Obedience* is more than *Non-reſiſtance*; it muſt be *active* and *cheerful*, as in *paying Tribute* and *Cuſtom*, ſo in other parts of obedience; to *go* and *come*, and *do what is commanded.*

2. *Suffering, or paying the penaltie*, is not the chief intention of the Law; but the duty of *Obedience*, without which the *ends of Government* will be fruſtrated, *viz. Peace* and *good Order.*

3. The Law of God enjoyns us to obey the Laws of men that are not contrary to his Law. Now though we ſatisfie the Law of our Country by *bearing the penalty*, yet the Law of God is not thereby ſatisfied; that Law requires *Repentance* and *Amendment*, (*i.e.*) that we do ſo no more. As in that inſtance of *frequenting Divine Service*, we do not think a *Papiſt* hath *ſatisfied the Law* when he pays Twelve pence; neither indeed do others: For it is Gods Law that is broken, who commands us *not to forſake the publick Aſſemblies*; and to *obey them that have the rule over us*: For we are to obey *for Conſcience*

ence ſake, (*i. e.* becauſe of the *obligation* which the Command of God hath laid upon us). And when the *Magiſtrate* calls for our *obedience* in this or that particular which is not againſt Gods Word, God commands our obedience to him, he having Gods Authority in ſuch caſes; and to diſobey, is not onely to diſobey man, but God: *Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake,* and for *Conſcience ſake:* and the penalty of diſobedience is *damnation.*

So that it is an *Atheiſtical Suggeſtion,* that *Rulers* and *Tyrants* did firſt *invent Religion,* to keep men in awe. For although no other Terrours are ſufficient to keep men in obedience but thoſe of *Hell* and *eternal Damnation,* becauſe men may carry on their miſchievous deſigns ſo *ſecretly*, or with ſuch a *high hand,* as to eſcape puniſhment in this life; yet it is not *man* but *God* that requireth obedience even to humane Laws, under the *Severeſt Sanctions* of *Eternal Death.*.

Object. But what if the thing commanded be not *good*? then we owe *no Obedience:* for the Magiſtrate is no longer *Gods Miniſter* than he commands *for God:* When he commands *againſt God,* he commands *without Authority,* and ſo we may *diſobey him* without ſin.

Anſw. There are but two *Rules* whereby we are to judge whether the Commands of

of our Superiours are *good* or *not*.

The firſt is the Law of *God*; and when we make *that* our Rule, we muſt be as *ſure* that the Word of God *condemns* what the Magiſtrates *command*, as we are ſure that God commands us *to obey* our Magiſtrate: And in all reaſon we ſhould chuſe what is our moſt *plain* and *indiſpenſable duty*, before that which is *doubtful*; eſpecially when the penalty of *not obeying* is no leſs than *Damnation*: for that is the *wages of ſin*, or diſobedience to Gods Law.

2. A ſecond Rule is the Laws of *men*, which do *bind the Conſcience* when the Command is not contrary to Gods Word. So that the *Caſe* to be *reſolved* is onely this: What we muſt do when the *Magiſtrate* commands things which *we judge* not expedient. In which caſe, conſidering eſpecially *our circumſtances*, the *Laws eſtabliſhed* being ſuch as we *our ſelves* have *conſented to*, it is too late for us to diſpute the *inexpediency* of them; for ſo there can never be an *eſtabliſhment*, it being impoſſible to make ſuch Laws as may not be excepted againſt by *ſome*, eſpecially *ſuch as tranſgreſs the Laws*. In ſuch caſes therefore, the *Magiſtrate*, not the *Subject*, is to *expound* the Law.

It is ſufficient that the Laws have a *tendencie* to the *publick* and more *general good*, though ſome

ſome private men may ſuffer in the Execution of them: And when *reſiſting* thoſe Laws which are made, will do more *hurt* than *good*, we ought to *obey them*, though we *ſuffer unjuſtly* in ſo doing. As Dr. *Sanderſon* gives an inſtance in *Souldiers* who for their *Cowardiſe*, or ſome *other crime*, are adjudged to be puniſhed in a way of *Decimation*, (*i. e.* every tenth man): now although ſome of thoſe that ſuffer may be *guiltleſs* and *valiant* men, yet the *private inconvenience* muſt be *endured*, rather than a *publick miſchief* ſhould be *tolerated*. Of this the *Learned Caſuiſt* ſpeaks ſo largely and ſatisfactorily, that I ſhall refer my *Reader* to his laſt Prælection, *p.* 356. *De Obligatione Conſcientiæ*.

When we are commanded to do what we apprehend not to be for our good, we muſt have a double conſideration: Firſt, to the *perſon commanding*, who is *Gods Miniſter*, and therefore may not be *reſiſted*, though, in the ſecond place, he *abuſe his power* in commanding what is *not good* or *lawful*: For if in this caſe we *reſiſt*, we *uſurp* the Power, and *invade* and *deſtroy* the *Order* and *Government* that God hath ſet over us. If we might *reſiſt* when *we apprehend* that we are commanded things againſt our *Religion*, our *Laws*, or *Liberties*, then there could be no ſuch thing as *Rebellion*; and then there would not long be any

ſuch

ſuch thing as *Religion, Libertie,* or *Government* in the world. Doubtleſs the Apoſtle was ſenſible what kind of Governours were in *Rome* when he wrote his Epiſtle, namely, ſuch as commanded for the moſt part things that were *impious*; yet we read not of any *reſiſtance:* and doubtleſs *thoſe Primitive Chriſtians* beſt knew the Apoſtles mind, and practiſed accordingly.

THE

THE REASONS

For not reſiſting

Wicked Princes.

BEcauſe, 1. He is *Gods Miniſter*. *For the Lords ſake*, we muſt ſubmit, ſaith St. *Peter*, and *for Conſcience ſake* (i.e.) for the *Obligation* that God hath laid upon us *as* he is *Gods Miniſter*. This ſwayed with *David*: He was *the Lords Anointed*, and therefore, he *could not lift up a hand againſt him*: nor would St. *Paul ſpeak evil of* any of *the Rulers of the People*. For, to *ſpeak evil* of them, is accounted as *Blaſphemy*, and *Diſobedience* is as *Sacriledge*: And, as St. *Paul*, *A reſiſting of the Ordinance of God*.

Obi. As he is Gods Miniſter *for good*, we are ready to obey him; but when he commands what *is evil*, he is no longer *Gods Miniſter*, but the *Devils*, and we ought not to obey him.

Anſ.

Anſ. He is *Gods Miniſter* ſtill as to his *Office*, though in reſpect of the *abuſe* of it by *unrighteous Actions*, he do the work of the *Devil*. And many times God placeth *cruel* and *unrighteous* Kings, (as a *juſt Judgment*) over an *unrighteous people*; according to the Imprecation of *David* againſt thoſe that were enemies to ſo good a King, *Set thou an ungodly man to have rule over them.*

Regis quando boni ſunt, muneris eſt Dei; quando mali, ſceleris eſt populi. *When good Kings bear rule, it is a token of Gods Favour; when wicked ones, it is the effect of the peoples Iniquity.* As *Job* ſays, Chap. 34. 30. *juxta Septuag. Regnare facit Hypocritam, propter peccata populi.* God takes away good Kings in his anger, and ſets evil ones in their rooms: yea, many times, for the ſins of the people, he permits *good Princes* to fall, as he did *David* in *numbring the people*, that *they* and their *King* might ſuffer under a *common Calamity*. It is an obſervation of *Æneas Sylvius*, *de Ortu Imperij*, c. 16. *Deus ſæpe propter peccata Subditorum deprivari permittit vitam Rectorum.* When *Rehoboam* hearkned to *evil Counſellors*, 1 Kin. 12. 15. *The Cauſe was from the Lord, that he might bring to paſs his ſaying*, &c.

Now who ſhall judge whether the thing commanded be for *our good* or not? We have *very plain precepts* which require our *Obedience* to

to Princes in all things that are not against the word of God: And we ought to have *as plain precepts* Affirmative or Negative for the things that we resolve *to do* or *not to do* according to the Kings command: *i. e.* Nothing can *justifie* our disobedience to our Prince, except there be as plain *Scripture-proofs* for the *intrinsecal evil* of the *action commanded*, as there are for the *necessity* of *Christian Obedience*. Where is it said, *Ye must needs disobey your Prince when he commands you to worship God in the publick assemblies, or to pray uncovered, or to receive the Sacrament on your knees*; as it is said, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*; and, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man*; and, *Obey Magistrates and them that have the rule over you?*

In this one *Common Good* of *Order* and *Government*, many good things are included: for, as *Cicero* said, *de Legibus* 3. *Without Government, neither House, City, or Nation, nor Mankind, nor Nature, nor the World it self could subsist.* And St. *Chrysostom* on *Rom. Hom.* 23. *Take away the higher Power, and all goes to wrack; neither City, nor Family, nor Assembly, or any thing else can stand; the stronger will devour the weaker, and all things be turned upside down.* It is therefore concluded by all Wise men, *That a bad Prince is better than none.* For a *demonstration* whereof, the *Persians*

ſians after their Kings death permitted the *people* to live in a *Lawleſs manner* for five days together, that after the experience of the outrages and violences committed in the *interregnum*, they might be the more *endeared* to their *Prince*. Conſonant to which is that in *Judges*, chap. 21. 16. when *there was no King in* Iſrael, *every one did that which was right in his own eyes*: which made them *on any terms* to deſire a *King*.

2. We are to *obey* them, *that we may ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men*, that think and ſpeak evil of *Chriſtianity*, as if it *ſet up Chriſt's Kingdom againſt Cæſars*, and a *good Chriſtian* could not be a *good Subject*; which *ſlanders* we ſhould confute by our *peaceable converſations*: and this will gain us *favour at home*, by *mitigating* the Princes *diſpleaſure*; or *toleration abroad*, if we be put to *flie for our lives*, when it ſhall be known that we are of *peaceable* and *patient* Converſations.

The Chriſtian Religion was from the beginning reproached as a *diſturber* of the *Secular powers*; and therefore it was the *Care* of *Chriſt* to clear his Diſciples from this *Crime*, by *paying tribute*, and *living in ſubjection* to the Rulers of this world, that he might give them *no offence*. And the *Apoſtles* knowing that they were reported to be *Seditious*, and *ſuch* as *would turn the world upſide down*, have

taken all poſſible care to undeceive the *enemies* of the *Goſpel*, by obliging the *profeſſors thereof* to *obey their Rulers*, under the *greateſt obligations* that the wit of men could invent.

So that in caſe the King do command ſuch things as are *evidently forbidden* by *God*, we ſee what is then to be done: we muſt peaceably *acquieſce* in the *providence of God*; as *Tacitus* ſaid, we may *bonos Imperatores voto expetere quoſcunq: tolerare*, l. 4. Submit to them as *Inſtruments* and *Rods* in the hand of God, correcting or puniſhing us for our ſins. God hath the *devil himſelf* in a *Chain*, and hath ſet *bounds* unto him: as in the caſe of *Job*, whoſe *life he could not take away*, nor *go beyond Gods Commiſſion*. *Commit your ſelves* therefore *to God in well doing*, who hath ſaid, *Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it*. And as *David* to *Saul*, 1 Sam. 24. 12. *The Lord judge between thee and me, and the Lord avenge me of thee; but my hand ſhall not be upon thee:* or, as in 1 *Sam.* 26. 10. *The Lord ſhall ſmite him, or his day ſhall come to dye, or he ſhall deſcend into the battel and periſh: the Lord forbid that I ſhould ſtretch forth my hand againſt the Lords Anointed.*

We may not impute all that we *ſuffer* to our *enemies*; the hand of *God* is in it, and we muſt (as *David* did) acknowledge it to be *the Lords*

Lords doing, We muſt *receive evil at the hands of God,* as well as *good*; and *bleſs him* when he *takes away,* as well as when he *continues* his *Mercy* to us. *Jer.* 29. 7. The *Jews* were commanded to *ſeek the peace of that City* (though it were *Babylon*) *wherein they were Captives,* and to *pray to the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof ye ſhall have peace:* and doubtleſs in the *diſturbance* of it, they were like to be the *firſt* and *greateſt ſufferers.*

Obj. But may we not reſiſt wicked Princes when they unjuſtly ſeek our deſtruction?

Anſ. This (ſays our Author) is the *Mahometan* Doctrine of the *Bow-ſtring:* which I think is a moſt *ſcandalous,* if not *blaſphemous* expreſſion. For this example our *Saviour* hath ſet us, who though moſt *innocent* and moſt *afflicted,* yet was moſt *patient* under all his ſufferings: and we muſt *look to Jeſus the Author and Finiſher of our Faith.* And it is directly contrary to 1 *Pet.* 2. 19. where, in the judgment of all Expoſitors, we are in the *ſame manner* to obey *Magiſtrates* as *Maſters,* (i. e.) though we *ſuffer wrongfully, to take it patiently, as our Saviour hath given example, who when he ſuffered he threatned not,* &c. Read chap. 4. 12, 13. and chap. 3. 14, 15, &c.

Thoſe Chriſtians who wrote their *Apologies* to the *Emperours* and *Governours* that were

then perſecuting of them, would not dare to ſpeak any thing but what was an *apparent truth*; yet they all *diſclaim* the practice of *Reſiſtance*, as contrary to the Doctrine that they had received, *viz.* to *be Subject to the Higher Powers*, &c. Thus *Juſtine Martyr, Lactantius, Athenagoras, Cyprian*, &c. I ſhall name one for all. *We are defamed* (ſaith *Tertull. ad Scapulam*) *touching the Imperial Majeſtie; yet never were Chriſtians found to be* Albinians, Nigrians, *or* Caſſians: (*i. e.*) they never ſided with any *Factions* againſt the *Emperours*; though if they had ſo done, their numbers were ſo great, that they might have overthrown his Forces: They might *in one night with a few Fire-brands avenge themſelves*, if they held it *lawful* to revenge *evil* with *evil*. *Had we been minded to profeſs open Hoſtilitie, could we want numbers of men, or force of Arms? we have filled your Iſlands, Caſtles, Towns, Tents, Tribes, and Wards, yea even the Palace, Senate, and place of Judgement. For what War were not we able, though fewer in number than you, who go ſo willingly to our Martyrdom, if it were not more lawful in our Religion to be ſlain than to ſlay?* And yet under all their Perſecutions they multiplied: *Ligabantur, includebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniebantur*; & *tamen multiplicabantur*, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, de Civit. Dei, l. 22. c. 6.

Gro-

Grotius, l. 1. c. 4. *de Jure Belli*, &c. ſpeaking of that *Sacred Maxime* of the Apoſtles, Acts 4. *It is better to obey God than man*, diſcourſeth thus: 'If either for this (*i. e.* our 'obedience to God) or for any other cauſe, 'he that hath the Soveraign power offer us 'an injurie, it ought rather to be patiently 'tolerated, than forcibly reſiſted: for al'though we do not owe an Active Obedi'ence to ſuch Commands of Princes, yet we 'do owe a Paſſive: we may not tranſgreſs 'the Laws of God or Nature for the pleaſure 'of the greateſt Monarch, yet ought we ra'ther patiently to ſubmit to what ſhall be in'flicted on us for diſobeying, than by reſi'ſtance to diſturb our Countries peace. The 'beſt and ſafeſt courſe, in ſuch a caſe, is either 'to preſerve our ſelves by flight, or reſolutely 'to undergo whatever ſhall be impoſed on 'us. His Reaſon is cogent: Becauſe Civil 'Societies being inſtituted for the preſerva'tion of Peace, there accrues to that Com'monwealth a greater Right over us and ours, 'ſo far as is neceſſarie for that end.---And if a 'promiſcuous Right of forcible Reſiſtance 'ſhould be tolerated, it would be no longer a 'Commonwealth, (*i. e.*) a Sanctuarie a'gainſt Oppreſſion, but a confuſed Rabble.

For this, among other things, he quotes that noted Saying, '*Principi Summum rerum*

'*arbitrium dii dederunt, ſubditis obſequii glo-*
'*ria relicta eſt.* God hath given to Princes
'the Soveraign power, leaving to us the glo-
'rie of Obedience. If a Souldier reſiſt his
'Captain, ſtriking him, and but lays hold of
'his Weapon, he is caſheered; if he break it,
'or ſtrike again, he ſhall be put to death.
That this was the *Hebrew* Law, he proves
from *Joſh.* 1. 18. 1 *Sam.* 8. 11. *Deut.* 17. 14.
which he ſo expounds, 'That the Governours
'may not be reſiſted, though they command
'what is not right. And therefore it is ad-
'ded in that place of *Samuel*, v. 18. that when
'the people are ſo oppreſſed by their King,
'that there is no remedie, they are to invoke
'his help who is the Supreme Judge of Hea-
'ven and Earth. And when our Saviour
'commands in the New Teſtament to give
'*Cæſar* his due, he intended doubtleſs that
'they ſhould yield as great, if not greater O-
'bedience, both Active and Paſſive, unto the
'Higher Power, than what was due from the
'*Jews*; which St. *Paul* (*Rom.* 13.) expounds
'more largely, and chargeth thoſe that *reſiſt*
'*the power* of Kings with no leſs Crime than
'*rebellion againſt Gods Ordinance*, and with a
'Judgment as great as their ſin. So that as
'there is a neceſſitie for our *Subjection*, there
'is alſo for our *Not Reſiſting*: Wherefore the
'Powers ſet over us are to be obeyed, not ſer-
'vilely,

'vilely, ſuperſtitiouſly, or out of fear; but 'with free, rational, and generous Spirits, *tanquam à diis dati*, as being Gods Ordinance; 'and being *commiſſioned* by him, cannot do 'more or leſs than he *orders* and *permits* them 'to do.

'Another reaſon is drawn from our benefit, 'the Government being conſtituted *for our* 'good, and therefore in conſcience *not to be* 'reſiſted: for the Apoſtles Argument reſpects 'that *univerſal good* for which *Government* was 'firſt inſtituted, (*i. e.*) the *publick Peace*, 'wherein every one is concerned more than 'in his private.---Now he that *reſiſts*, doth as 'much as in him lies *diſſolve* his Countries 'Peace, and ſo will *burie* himſelf in the *Ruines* 'of it at the end; and were it not for *Go*'*vernmens*, a *Kingdom* would be but like a 'great *Pond*, wherein the *bigger* Fiſhes devour 'the *leſſer*. *Omnia erit fortiorum.*

'*Object.* The Commands of Princes do not 'alway tend to the *publick good*; and when 'they decline from that *end*, they are not to 'be obeyed.

'*Anſw.* Though the Supreme Magiſtrate 'doth ſometime, through fear, anger, luſt, or 'other paſſions, *ſwerve* from the path of *Ju*'*ſtice* and *Equitie*; yet theſe hapning but *ſel*'*dom*, are to be paſt by as *perſonal blemiſhes*: 'which, as *Tacitus* obſerves, are abundantly

'recompenſed by the benefit of *better Princes*.
'---- Laws may be called *good*, though they fit
'not *every mans* caſe, if they obviate ſuch diſ-
'orders as are frequently practiſed, and ſo do
'good to the *generalitie* of the People. Thus
Grotius.

If the *People* may *reſiſt* their *Prince*, I would know in what *Caſes* it may be done. It may be done (ſay ſome) in caſe of *Religion*, when that is in *danger*; in caſe of *Libertie*, when that is *invaded*; in caſe of *Oppreſſion*, when that is *heavie*; in caſe of the *King*'s exerciſing an *Arbitrarie power*; in caſe of *his* denying his Peoples *Priviledges* and *Immunities*. Nay, we have known that meer *Fears* and *Jealouſies*, which were *fancied* onely to promote a *Rebellion*, have been uſed as an Argument to juſtifie it.

But will any of theſe things juſtifie the *reſiſtance* of a *Son* againſt his *Father*, or a *Servant* againſt his *Maſter*? Or if we may make the *People* Judges of the *lawfulneſs* of reſiſting in *one* or *more* of theſe Caſes, why may they not in *all*, and in as many *more* as they ſhall pleaſe to be ſufficient?

But if *any* cauſe can juſtifie *Reſiſtance*, it muſt be that of *Religion*; and, if *any Religion*, that which is the *true Religion*. Now if we admit the *Chriſtian Religion* to be the *trueſt Religion*, that condemns *Reſiſtance* above any other,

other, as hath been demonſtrated by its *Precepts*, and the *practice* of thoſe *Primitive Chriſtians*, who beſt knew the ſence and the mind of our *Saviour* in thoſe Precepts: and if any Chriſtians ſhould maintain the contrarie, it would give the *Princes of the World* a juſt occaſion to be *jealous* of it, and *root it out* of their *Dominions*: for what Prince would permit any *ſuch number* of men to *abide* and *multiply* in their *Dominions*, that profeſs it to be *lawful* to make *reſiſtance* againſt them?

Beſides, there are few men bred up in *any Religion*, but they think their *own* to be the *true Religion*: and then they may *reſiſt* their *Prince*, how falſe and deſtructive ſoever it be; and ſo a *Papiſt* or *Anabaptiſt*, a *Jew* or a *Pagan*, may think it *lawful* for them to *reſiſt*; and ſo *no Prince* can be ſecure of the *Obedience* of his People. Therefore we muſt take away all *pretences* of the *lawfulneſs* of *Reſiſtance*, or we muſt grant *All pretences* to be lawful that the *People* ſhall judge ſo to be. Therefore the Scripture hath *forbidden reſiſtance in any caſe*, as our *Law*, grounded on *Scripture* and *Reaſon*, hath alſo done, *on any pretence whatſoever.*

It had been enough to oppoſe Biſhop *Uſher*'s ſole Judgment againſt our Author's. Biſhop *Uſher*, of *the power of Princes*, p. 214. *The patience of the Saints was not onely ſeen in the Pri-*

Primitive Perſecutions, but continued as well under the Arian *Emperours, who retaining the name of* Chriſtians, *did endeavour with all their power to advance that* damnable Hereſie; *but alſo under* Julian *himſelf, who utterly revolted from the very profeſſion of the Name of Chriſt.* St. *Auguſtine* obſerved the ſame, on *Pſal.* 124. Julian *was an Infidel, an Apoſtate, and Idolater; yet,* Milites Chriſtiani ſervierunt Imperatori Infideli; *Chriſtian Souldiers ſerved this Heathen Emperour. When they came to the Cauſe of Chriſt, they would acknowledge no Lord but him in Heaven; but when he ſaid, Go forth to fight, Invade ſuch a Nation, they preſently obeyed: They were ſubject to their Temporal Lord, for his ſake that was their Eternal Lord.*

The *Arian* Perſecution by *Conſtantius* (who had alſo Apoſtatized from the true Faith) was as violent, and of much longer continuance than that of *Julian*; yet though the Chriſtians had then (as you pretend) *the Laws on their ſide*, they made no reſiſtance. I am conſtrained to repeat this again, becauſe I meet with a *contrary Aſſertion* in Mr. *Hunt*, *p.* 153. *I muſt remember him* (ſaith he) *out of* Socrates, Eccl. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 38. *when the Souldiers of the* Arian *Emperour* Conſtantius *were by his command ſent to enforce them to become* Arians, *they took Arms in defence of their Religion:*

ligion. Where I perceive, as great a Lawyer as Mr. *Hunt* is, he hath taken honeſt *John Milton* into his Conſult; who ſays, *Chap.* 44. of the *Primitive Chriſtians* (Idem bellum *Conſtantio* indixerunt, & quantum in ſe erat, Imperio & vita ſpoliarunt) *That they waged War with* Conſtantius, *and as much as in them lay, ſpoiled him of his Life and Empire.* This being ſaid by *Milton*, how *notoriouſly falſe* ſoever, Mr. *Hunt* is ready to aſſert the truth of it, and makes an offer of as *good Authoritie* for it, as ever *Milton* did for the *Kings Condemnation*; as will appear by the Hiſtory.

This paſſage refers us to a *horrible Relation* of the *Arian Perſecution* acted by *Macedonius*, who procured *Edicts* from that *Emperour* to force the *Chriſtians* to the *Arian* infidelity. The Hiſtory begins *chap.* 27. *Macedonius* after the death of *Paul* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* (who was baniſhed firſt, and then ſlain in exile by the *Arians*, *Athanaſius* hardly eſcaping them) enters on thoſe Churches, who having great power with the Emperour, ſtirred up as great Wars and Cruelties between the Chriſtians themſelves, as any that were acted by the Tyrants; and he got his impious actings to be confirmed by the Emperours Edicts. Preſently he proclaims the Edicts in all the Cities, and the Souldiers are enjoyned to aſſiſt him: The Orthodox are baniſhed not onely from

from their Churches, but their Cities — Then they conſtrain the people againſt their wills to communicate with the *Arians*, and uſed as great violence as ever any of thoſe uſed that forced the Chriſtians to the worſhipping of Idols, applying Whips, Tortures, and all kind of Cruelties. Some were Sequeſtred of all their Goods; others Baniſhed; many died under their Torments; and thoſe that were to be Baniſhed, were ſlain in the way. Theſe Cruelties were practiſed throughout all the Cities of the Eaſt-part of the Empire, eſpecially at *Conſtantinople*.

This Perſecution when *Macedonius* was made Biſhop, was increaſed more than before: of which *Socrates*, in *chap.* 38, gives a fuller relation, *p.* 142, *Edit. Valeſii*: That he then perſecuted not onely *Catholicks*, but the *Novatians* alſo, who agreed with the *Catholicks* in the *Conſubſtantiality*. Both were oppreſſed with intolerable miſchiefs. *Agellius* the Biſhop of the *Novatians* is forced to flee; but many, eminent for their piety, were apprehended and tormented for refuſing to communicate with them; and after other Tortures, they gagg'd their Moueths with Wood, and forced their Sacrament into them: which was to thoſe good men the greateſt torment of all. They alſo forced the Women and Children to receive their Baptiſm. If a-

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ny reſiſted, they uſed Whips, Bonds, Impriſonment, and other cruelties; of which it ſhall ſuffice to relate one or two inſtances, leaving the Auditors to judge by them, of the inhumane actings of *Macedonius* and his Party. Such Women as would not communicate with them, they firſt ſqueezed their Breaſts in a Box, and then cut them off; ſome with Iron, and others with Cauſticks of ſcalding Eggs. A new kind of torment, never uſed by the *Heathen* againſt us *Chriſtians*, was invented by theſe who profeſſed Chriſtianity. Theſe things I am informed of, ſaith *Socrates*, by *Auxanontes* a very old man, a Presbyter of the *Novatian* Church; who before he was made Presbyter, endured many indignities, being caſt into Priſon with one *Alexander* a *Paphlagonian*, and beaten with many ſtripes, whereof this *Alexander* died in priſon, but *Auxanontes* lived to endure more torments.

I have not time to tranſlate the entire Hiſtory, which may be read in that Chapter; I ſhall therefore come to that part of it related to by Mr. *Hunt*: which is thus:

Macedonius, *hearing that in the Province of* Paphlagonia, *eſpecially at* Mantinium, *there were ſuch a multitude of* Novatians *as could not be expelled by the* Arian *Eccleſiaſticks, procures four Companies of Souldiers to force them to turn* Arians. *They, in defence of their Sect, armed*

armed themſelves with deſpair, as with Weapons; and gathering together in a Body, with Hooks, and Hatchets, and what Weapons were at hand, met the Souldiers; in which ſcuffle many of the Paphlagonians, *and neer all the* Souldiers, *were ſlain. This I heard* (ſaith *Socrates*) *from a* Paphlagonian *that was in the Fight:* And he adds, that *the Emperour himſelf was offended with* Macedonius *for this action.*

I ſhould indeed have wondered at the confidence of Mr. *Hunt* in accuſing from this ſtory the *Orthodox* for *arming* themſelves in defence of their *Profeſſion*, when it was onely a rout of *Novatians* that were by the *Arian* crueltie driven to deſpair, that defended themſelves againſt them. But I am ſo *tranſported* at *another ſaying* of his, that I have no admiration of any thing elſe, how *falſe* or pernicious ſoever: You ſhall find it, *p.* 192. of his Treatiſe concerning the *Succeſſion*, where having ſuggeſted, that if the D. be not excluded, he doth certainly *make us miſerable*; and mincing the matter a little, ſaying, *We exclude onely his Perſon, not his Poſteritie:* he is not afraid to add—— *And we will not entail a War upon the Nation, though for the Sake and Intereſt of the glorious Familie of the STUARTS.* The ſpeech is ſo *heinous*, that it cannot admit any *aggravation.* Well may ſuch

ſuch men as *he* and his *Plagiary* ſeek to juſtifie *reſiſtance* of *lawful Powers*, having in effect not onely *drawn the Sword*, but *caſt away the Scabbard*. We are told of one that was ready to *kick* an *Emperour*, and of others that *play'd with his Beard*; but this is little leſs than *kicking* at the *Crown*, and *ſtriking a blow* at the *root*, to render the *whole Family* as glorious as they *made the Father of it*: Unleſs he can give ſome *other ſence* of it than this: *Rather than not exclude the D. we will exclude the glorious Family of the* Stuarts. And in what ſence he calls it *a glorious Family*, needs his explication.

But will the *Excluſion* of the D. as certainly prevent our *miſery*, as his *Succeſſion effect* it? Did you never read how zealous ſome Prieſts and Phariſees were for a *Bill of Excluſion* againſt a *far better* perſon? John 11.47,48. *What do we? for this man doth many Miracles: if we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him, & the Romans will come, & take away both our place & nation* And did not the *paſſing* that *Bill*, make way for the *Romans* to bring *all their fears* on their own heads? And was not our late *dear King* excluded from *Crown*, *Kingdom*, and *life*, upon ſuch *fears*; and was that a means of our *Peace* and *Happineſs*? I wiſh I could ſay our *fears now*, are as falſe as they were *then*. We have his R. H. *Declaration* for our *Security*,

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viz. *That the Members of the Church of* England *are the best supporters of the Crown.* Insomuch that if it fall to him to be *concerned*, he will ever *countenance* and *preserve* them and it. And p. 225. Why may we not suppose that a Popish Successor will defend his *Regalia* against the Pope? Our Ancient Kings did so in the Reign of *Rich.* 2. 16. c. 5. In a Statute of *Præmunire* the Parliament declares, **That the Crown of** England, (against the Encroachments of the Pope) **hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things touching the Regalty of the same Crown, and to none other. And God defend** (say they) **that it should be submitted to the Pope, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm be by him defeated and avoided at his will, in perpetual destruction of the Soveraignty of the King our Lord, his Crown, Regalty and of all his Realm.** And I hope his Royal Highness will say as they did, *God defend.* Moreover, the Commons say, That **the things so attempted** (viz. *purchasing Bulls from* Rome, *executing Judgments given in the Court of* Rome, *translating of Prelates out of the Realm*, or from one *Preferment* to another) **be clearly against the Kings Crown and Regalty used and approved of the time of all his Progenitors: Wherefore they and all the liege Commons of the same Realm will stand with**

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our ſaid Lord the King, and his Crown and Regalty in the Caſes aforeſaid, and in all other caſes attempted againſt him and his Crown and Regalty in all points, to live and to dye. And moreover they pray the King, and him require by way of Juſtice, that he would examine all the Lords in the Parliament, as well Spiritual as Temporal, ſeverally, and all the Eſtates of the Parliament, how they think of the Caſes aforeſaid, which be ſo openly againſt the Kings Crown, and in derogation of his Regalty, how they will ſtand in the ſame caſes with our Lord the King in upholding the rights of the ſaid Crown and Regalty.

The like promiſes were made by the *Lords Temporal and Spiritual*, and the default was to be puniſhed by a *Præmunire*, which is, To be put out of the King protection, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels forfeited to the King; and that they be attached by their bodie, if they may be found, and brought before the King and his Counſil, there to anſwer to the Caſes aforeſaid, &c.

Now if theſe *profeſſed Papiſts* did ſo reſolutely and unanimouſly conteſt the *Regalia* againſt the *Pope*, what greater zeal and reſolution may we juſtly expect from a *Proteſtant Parliament* (for ſuch we may have, if it be not our own fault) if the *Pope* or any *Agents of*

his should attempt to destroy the foundations of our *established Religion* and *Laws!*

Moreover, in the days of Queen *Mary*, we read how much *time*, and what *contrivances* and *largesses* it cost *that Queen* to form a Parliament to her *liking*, though then the Nation were *mostly Papists*; and how much they contended still for the *Regalia* against the *Pope*, and reserving of *Abby-lands*, &c. to the Purchasers: nor, when all was done, did any man suffer without *publick process* in form of *Law*: there were no *throats cut*, nor bloudshed by *private Messengers* or *Assassinates*, as we are taught to expect from *every Justice of Peace and Tything man*, p. 85. and by I know not what *Janizaries*; and that we shall be slain *to see what Grimaces we make*, p. 89. Besides, the number that suffered in her *five years*, were not comparable to the number that have been slain in *one hours fight* during the *Rebellion*; nor indeed to those that were *Martyred* for their *Religion* and *Loyalty* by *illegal proceedings* in the *Mock-Courts of Justice*, during that *Usurpation*: the number of the *Marian Martyrs* being not above three or four hundred (though they were too many.).

Now a *Wise man* should look *back* upon the mischiefs that *have* befallen the Nation by *resisting* the *lawful Prince*, and the endeavours to *alter*

alter the *Succeſſion* from the *right Heir*; as well as *forward* upon the miſchiefs that *may never* be, and which upon a ſuppoſition of a *Popiſh Succeſſour* are aggravated almoſt beyond a poſſibilitie of being effected. Remember what it coſt the Nation when the *Succeſſion to the Crown* was *diſputed* between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*: There periſhed in that War, as Hiſtorians do account, two Kings, one Prince, ten Dukes, two Marqueſſes, twentie one Earls, twentie ſeven Lords, two Viſcounts, one Lord Prior, one Judge, one hundred thirtie nine Knights, four hundred twentie one Eſquires; and of the Gentrie and Commons an incredible number. So that in ſuch caſes, the *Remedie* is generally worſe than the *Diſeaſe*.

I have not ſaid this (God is my witneſs) to abate the *juſt* and *honeſt* care of the Nation to keep out Poperie, by ſuch timely proviſion as his *Majeſtie* and his *great Council* ſhall ſee moſt probable; but to allay the *inordinate Heats* which may ſet the whole Kingdom in a *ſudden flame*, onely to prevent the *fear* of the ſuffering *a Trial of our Faith*, if God ſhould call us to it. And I cannot conſider, without ſome horror, what ſore and long *Wars* and *Devaſtations* may follow upon a *Bill of Excluſion*, as well as on a *Popiſh Succeſſor*. And if of *two evils* the *leaſt* is to be

choſen, I ſhould rather (if the Will of God ſo be) ſubmit to my lot, how hard ſoever, under ſuch a One, than that the *whole Nation* ſhould be *rent in pieces* again, either by a *Rebellion* at home, or *Invaſions* from abroad; which may happen upon ſuch an *Excluſion*: for, *Regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum Opem alliciant ad miſericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut Reges ſunt, aut vivunt in Regno quod Regale iis nomen magnum & ſanctum eſſe videatur*: The oppreſſed eſtate of Kings eaſily moves many to pitie, eſpecially them who are either Kings themſelves, or do live in a Kingdom to whom the name of a *King* is *Auguſt* and *Sacred*; Saith the great Orator, *Pro lege Manil.*

Let us therefore leave the *King* and his *Great Council* to their *free Determinations*, and acquieſce in the ſage advice of *Gamaliel*, St. *Paul's* Maſter, Acts 5. 39. *Let us refrain from theſe things: for if this counſel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, leſt haply ye be found even to fight againſt God.* And I ſhall conclude the buſineſs of *Excluſion* with the Determination of Biſhop *Sanderſon*, whoſe *ſingle Judgment* will outweigh in an equal balance *all the Opinions* of the Oppoſers: You have it, *p.* 350. of his book *de Obligatione Conſcientiæ*. *I think* (ſaith he) *that an Hereditа-*

reditarie Kingdom may not lawfully be changed for an Elective (as in and by the *Excluſion* it is like to be), *nor for any other form of Government, either by the People alone, nor by the People and Nobles joyntly, nor by the whole bodie of the People in their greateſt latitude, that is, the People, Nobles, and the King, conſenting together: unleſs perhaps the Royal Progenie ſhould ſo totally fail, that there is not one ſurviving, who may claim it as his due by Right of Inheritance.* And let it be conſidered, that he wrote this before the *Bill of Excluſion* was ever dreamt of.

And now I cannot but reflect upon the *Prognoſticators* and *Wizards* of our Time, that amuſe the people with the *fancies* and *fears* which their *own guilt* hath created, as if we ſhould be all ſwallowed up in a moment, and there were a *fatal neceſſitie* of *endleſs miſeries* attending us: ſuch as Mr. *Baxter* in his *Prognoſtication*, and *our Author*, who, *p.* 89. tells us of *ſuch a diſmal proſpect as makes every honeſt mans heart to ſhake.* I remember, ſome years ſince, upon the *great Eclipſe* of the *Sun*, *Lilly* and ſome others made ſuch a diſmal repreſentation of it, as ſtruck a *terror* into a great part of the Countrie, and made them take home their Cattel to their houſes, and ſeek Sanctuary themſelves in the Churches, as if Doomsday were come; when the cauſe was *natural*,

and nothing fell out but according to *that courſe* which God had appointed for the Motion of the Heavenly bodies. Though *wiſe men* are not moved at ſuch *bugbears*, yet they have an ill Aſpect on the *people*, to diſpoſe them for ſuch *Commotions* as may promote the intereſt of *diſcontented* and *deſigning* men.

For my part, I ſhall *continue* to pray for his Royal Highneſs, as our Liturgy directs: and if it be the will of God to ſend us a *Popiſh Succeſſor* to puniſh us for our *reſiſtance* of a *Proteſtant King*, whoſe bloud ſtill cries for Vengeance; I had rather die for not reſiſting him, than to be as *inſtrumental* in procuring a *Bill of Excluſion*, as *this man* would be, and as *ſucceſsful* as he can hope to be,& at my death to have it written on my Tomb, *Here lieth the firſt Author of this Sentence: RATHER THAN THE DUKE OF Y. SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED, WE WILL EXCLUDE THE GLORIOUS FAMILY OF THE STUARTS.* And I will yet pray againſt the wickedneſs of *theſe men: Lord cloath all ſuch his enemies with ſhame; but upon his head, and the heads of his ſeed, let the Crown flouriſh.*

I perceive Mr. *Hunt* to be a great *devoto* to *ſome kind* of *Parliaments*; and that which was convened in the firſt of King *James*, was

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one that consisted of Wise, Loyal, and Pious persons; I intreat him therefore to consider what was *Enacted* by them in their *Recognition*, 1°. *Jacobi*; where after the *Preamble* it is thus declared: **We therefore your most humble and Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do from the bottom of our hearts yield to the Divine Majesty all humble thanks and praises, not onely for the said unspeakeable and inestimable benefits and blessings above-mentioned, but also that he hath further enriched your Highness with a most Royal Progeny of most rare and excellent gifts and forwardness, and in his goodness is like to encrease the happy number of them. And in most humble and lowly manner do beseech your most excellent Majesty, that (as a memorial to all Posterities amongst the records of your High Court of Parliament for ever to endure, of our Loyalty, Obedience and hearty and humble Affection) it may be published and declared in this High Court of Parliament, and enacted by the authority of the same, That we being bounden thereunto** (N.B.) **by the Laws of God and man, do recognize and acknowledge, and thereby express our unspeakable Joyes, that immediately upon the dissolution and decease of** Elizabeth **late Queen of** England, **the Imperial Crown of the Realm of** England, **and of all the Kingdoms, Domini-**

ons, and Rights belonging to the same, and by inherent Birth-right (N. B.) and lawful and undoubted Succession, descend and come to your most Excellent Majesty, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next and sole Heir of the Blood-Royal of this Realm, as is aforesaid. And that by the goodness of God Almighty, and lawful right of Descent under one Imperial Crown, your Majesty is of the Realms and Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most potent and mighty King, and by Gods goodness more able to protect and govern us your loving Subjects in all peace and plenty, than any of your noble Progenitors: and thereunto we most humbly and faithfully submit and oblige our selves, our heirs and posterities for ever, until the last drop of our bloods be spent. And we beseech your Majesty to accept the same as the first-fruits in this High Court of Parliament of our Loyalty and Faith to your Majesty and your Royal Progeny and Posterity for ever.

Now, as *Grotius* says, *a People may be presumed to be the same that they formerly were, till some publick act shew that their judgments are altered.* How dares Mr. *Hunt* then to say, p. 47. *If any man is so vain as to say that an unalterable course of Succession is established among us by Divine Right; I say he is a man fitted to believe Transubstantiation, and the Infallibility of the Pope?* &c. And *if any man shall*

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add, that this is the Doctrine of the Reformation, and adventure to tell the people ſo; they are the moſt impudent falſaries that ever any Age produced; when there is ſcarce a Child but hath heard what was done and maintained by the Clergy in the Caſe of Mary *Queen of* Scots.

How can *this man*, (who doubtleſs is an *Ignoramus* if he never knew this *Recognition*) declare ſo often as he doth, particularly in p. 198. *that the Succeſſion of the Crown is the right of the whole Community, their appointment, their conſtitution, and creature in Parliament?* Did he never read what is ſaid by *Grotius de Jure belli?* He ſays, *If a Kingdom deſcend by Succeſſion, an Act of Alienation is in itſelf null*, l. 1. c. 4. ſ. 9. Which agrees with what Biſhop *Sanderſon* delivered before. And Mr. *Hunt* himſelf ſays, *Grotius* is *more than ten witneſſes*: and if you add the Biſhops, I think them of more value than a hundred.

In quâ tandem Civitate Catilina arbitraris te vivere, ſaith *Cicero*: you that make *Hue and cry* after ſuch as write for *Religion* and *Loyalty*, as if they were ready to baniſh themſelves, or prove *felo's de ſe*; conſider, I pray, under *what Government* you are: and though you may eſcape the *Magiſtrates* wrath, yet you ought to be ſolicitous [illegible] you may eſcape the wrath of *God*, to which you have made your ſelf obnoxious.

I have but one Remark more on Mr. *Hunt*, which is, that he hath conſulted another famous Author, one Mr. *Thomas White*, who, being a *Romiſh Emiſſary*, made it his buſineſs to continue our *diſtractions*. This man wrote a Book entituled, *The Grounds of Obedience and Government*: And his Motto is, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex eſto*; whereof I have given you the genuine ſence already.

Now among many other Notes tranſcribed by Mr. *Hunt* from this *Jeſuitical Writer*, p. 158. he comes to anſwer the Objections of *Divines* concerning *the Authoritie of Princes*, and *non-reſiſtance*. *Up ſteps the Divine* (ſaith he) *to preach us out of Scripture the Dutie we owe to Kings, no leſs than Death and Damnation being the guerdons of Diſobedience and Rebellion.* And *p.* 159. *They will ſpeak Reaſon too, telling us, that God by nature is high Lord and Maſter of all: That whoever is in power receiveth his right from him: That Obedience conſiſts in doing the Will of him that commandeth; and conclude, that his Will ought to be obeyed till God taketh away the Obligation,* (i. e.) *till he who is to be obeyed himſelf releaſeth the Right.* Beſides, *p.* 160. *They alledge that God by his ſpecial command transferred the Kingdom from* Saul *to* David, *from* Rehoboam *to* Jeroboam. *So that in fine, all that is brought out of Scripture falleth ſhort of proving*

ving that no time can make void the right of a King once given him by the hand of God. Now mark what Mr. *White* ſays to overthrow the ſenſe of theſe Scriptures. *The reaſon* (ſays he) *of* THIS WEAK WAY OF ALLEADGING SCRIPTURE *is, that when they read that God commandeth or doth this, they look not into Nature to know what this Commanding or Doing is, but preſently imagine God commands it by expreſs and direct words, and doth it by an immediate poſition of the things ſaid to be done; whereas in Nature the Commands are nothing but the natural Light God hath beſtowed on Mankind, and which is therefore frequently called the Law of Nature. Likewiſe Gods doing a thing is many times onely the courſe of natural ſecond Cauſes; to which becauſe God gives the Direction and Motion, he both doth, and is ſaid to do all that is done by them.*

Now to the *ſame end* (*viz.* to prove that Kingly Government is not from *God* but the *People*, and therefore may be *altered* and *reſtſted*) and in the *ſame words* for the moſt part, doth Mr. *Hunt* deliver this black invention of Mr. *White*, p. 144. *The nature of Government and its Original hath been prejudiced----by men that underſtand nothing but words: and Grammar-divines, that without contemplating Gods Attributes, or the Nature of man, or the reaſo-*

reaſonableneſs of moral Precepts, have undertaken to declare the ſence of Scripture; and infer, that Soveraign Power is not of Humane Inſtitution, but of Divine Appointment, becauſe they find it there written, That by him Kings reign: *Imagining, that when the Scripture ſaith God commands or doth this, that God commanded it by expreſs words, or doth it by an immediate poſition of the thing done; whereas in nature his Commands are nothing but the natural Light God hath beſtowed on Mankind: Likewiſe Gods doing a thing is onely the courſe of natural and ſecond Cauſes, to which becauſe God gives Direction and Motion, he doth both, and is ſaid to do all that is done.*

Likewiſe Gods doing a thing, is onely the courſe of natural and ſecond Cauſes, to which; becauſe God gives the Direction or Motion, he doth both, and is ſaid to do all that is done. All this is *verbatim* Mr. *White*: So is his Raillerie in the *ſame Phraſe*, to bring an *Odium* on Divines that would prove *Government* out of the *Scripture*: *White* calls them *Grammar-Divines, Verbal and wind-blown Divines*, p. 162. And Mr. *Hunt* calls them *Men that underſtand nothing but Words, and Grammar-divines. Who* (ſaith Mr. *White*) *without Logick, Philoſophie, or Morality, undertake to be Interpreters of the Sacred Bible: Who* (ſaith Mr. *Hunt*) *without contemplating Gods Attributes,*

butes, or the Nature of man, or the Reaſonableneſs of Moral Precepts, have undertaken to declare the ſenſe of the Scripture.

It is not ſtrange to me, having read a *Defiance* to the *Royal-Family*, to read the like againſt the *Clergie*. But that the *Scripture* alſo ſhould ſuffer, and the *uncertain* and *mutable Traditions* and *Effects* of *natural Cauſes* be made equivalent with the immediate Commands of God in the Scripture, though it be no new thing among *Jeſuits*, yet a *true Proteſtant* ſhould abhor it. The man is ſo angry that he hath done the *ungrateful Biſhops* any *right*, that he will have ſatisfaction *right or wrong* from the reſt of the Clergie: And though he call the *younger ſort* onely *Coxcombs*, yet his deſign is to bring the *whole Clergy* into *contempt*. But any young Divine may draw ſuch *Concluſions* out of the *Premiſes*, as might exclude him out of the Society of all *good* and *learned* men.

1. *That to conclude from the ſence of Scripture, is a weak way of Arguing.* In this Mr. *White* and Mr. *Hunt* conſent.

2. *That* non obſtante *what the Scripture ſays of Divine Right of Soveraign Power, it is not of Divine, but Humane Inſtitution.*

3. *That Providence, and the Effects of ſecond Cauſes, being influenced by God, are of equal Au-*

Authority with the Precepts enjoyned by the Word of God.

4. *That the Soveraign Power being but of Humane Inſtitution, may be reſiſted, and is alterable.*

5. *That they who mock the Meſſengers of God, do go on to deſpiſe the Word of God, and abuſe his Prophets; a ſin which often ſtirs up the Wrath of God. ſo as there is* NO REMEDY. And this I obſerve in the behalf of the abuſed Clergie.

6. *That having caſt off our Loyaltie to our Governours and their Laws, puts us in a fair way to caſt off the Soveraignty of God and his Laws.*

7. *That the worſt of Papiſts, and their moſt Atheiſtical Arguments, are made uſe of by ſome that call themſelves* true Proteſtants, *againſt the expreſs Commands of God for obedience to the Higher Powers.*

From all which Premiſes I ſhall onely conclude as to my ſelf, That it is much more deſirable to *periſh* by the hands of a *known Enemie* to *God* and the *true Religion*, than to outlive that Religion, and by a *ſucceſsful reſiſtance* againſt *the Ordinance of God*, to live in the enjoyment of Temporal wealth and Honours, and to deſerve this Epitaph to be engraved on my Tomb.

Plorate

Plorate quotquot eſtis
Pacis vitæque placidæ Pertæſi:
Conſervator optimi Populi, peſſimus
Legum, Libertatis, Religionis Protector:
Poſt Oliverum Primus, nulli Secundus:
Deperditæ Reſpublicæ Inſtaurator:
Regum timendorum tremendus Judex,
Regiæ Stirpis Extirpator Perfidus,
Juris Conſultorum Doctor Ignoramus.
Qui Conſentientibus diſſentit ab omnibus
Orthodoxis, Antiquis & Modernis:
Qui Diſſentientibus conſentit omnibus
Papiſtis, Anabaptiſtis, Regicidis:
Scrutator Majeſtatis oppreſſus à Gloria,
Inglorius obiit.

OF

OF
Passive Obedience.

IT is a very *hard Case*, that when the *Scripture* injoyns such as are of the *Ministry* in this Nation to *put the people in mind to be subject to Principalities and powers*; and the *Canons* of the *Church* to which we have subscribed, oblige us *four times in the year at least*, to manifest, open, and declare, in our *Sermons* and *Lectures*, *That the Kings power within his Majesties Realms*, &c. *is the highest power under God, to whom all men born within the same, do by Gods Laws owe most Loyaltie and Obedience, afore and above all Powers and Potentates on Earth*; that for so doing, we should be reproached as *Time-servers*, and such as advance an *Arbitrarie power*; and that such Doctrine *is calculated and fitted on purpose for the use of a Popish Successour, and to make us an easier prey to the bloudie Papists*, p. 89. And all this, by those men who are *equally obliged* by *Oaths* and *Subscriptions* to do the same as we.

Of *these things* the Author accuseth a *learned*

ned Doctor, who had affirmed (in a Sermon I ſuppoſe, and he quotes *p.* 8.) *That the Goſpel doth not preſcribe any remedie but flight againſt the Perſecutions of the lawful Magiſtrate; allowing no other means, when we cannot eſcape, between denying and dying for the Faith.* This is in *p.* 80. and *p.* 85. for ſaying, *That the Goſpel by its own confeſſion is a ſuffering Doctrine, and ſo far from being prejudicial to* Cæſars *authoritie, that it makes him the Miniſter of God, and commands all its Profeſſors to give him and all that are in authoritie under him their dues, and rather die than reſiſt them by force.*

Now to remove the *prejudice* of ſuch as are of our Author's Judgment, I ſhall firſt propoſe the Judgment of Mr. *Baxter*, (as a preparative to the more candid entertainment of what I ſhall propound concerning *Paſſive Obedience.*) P. 24. of the 4th part of *Chriſtian Directorie*, Direct. 31. *Reſiſt not where you cannot obey; and let no appearance of probable good that may come to your ſelves or to the Church, by any unlawful means, as Treaſon, Sedition, or Rebellion, ever tempt you to it: for*, evil muſt not be done, that good may come by it.

But, *Sect.* 61. it is objected, *If we muſt let Rulers deſtroy us at their pleaſure, the Goſpel will be rooted out of the Earth: When they know we hold it unlawful to reſiſt them, they will*

be emboldened to destroy us, and sport themselves in our blood, as the Papists did by the poor Albigenses. Answ. *All this were something, if there were no God that can easilier restrain and destroy them at pleasure, than they can injure or destroy you. If God be engaged to protect you, and hath told you that the hairs of your head are numbered, and more regardeth his Honour, Gospel, and Church, than you do, and accounteth his Servants as the Apple of his eye, and hath promised to hear them, and avenge them speedily; then it is but Atheistical distrust of God, to save your self by sinful means, as if God could not or would not do it. Thus he that saveth his life shall lose it.*

This Mr *Baxter* speaks against *Rebellion* and *unlawful Arms* and *Acts*. To this purpose he quotes *Grotius de Imperio*, p. 210. answering the *like Objection*, (viz.) Mutato Regis Animo, Religio Mutabitur; *That if the King change his mind, the Religion will be changed also.* Answ. *In this case the onely remedie is in the providence of God, who hath the hearts of all men in his hand, but especially the Kings. God worketh his ends both by good and evil Kings: sometime a calm, sometime a storm is most profitable to the Church. If the King be of a perverse and corrupt Judgment, it will be worse for him than for the Church.* But all this, you will say, is against *unlawful acts and means*, which

which they that have the *Laws on their ſide* cannot be ſaid to uſe. To this Mr. *Baxter* anſwers, p. 26. *What power the Laws have, they have it by the Kings Conſent and Act. And it is ſtrange impudencie, to pretend that his own Laws are againſt him. If any miſinterpret them, he may be confuted.* I ſuppoſe Mr. *Baxter* means, by ſome *other method* than that of *arguing*, as St. *Auguſtine* adviſed in the like caſe.

The Law and Ordinance of *Government*, and eſpecially of *Monarchie*, is founded on the Law of *God* and Nature; and no *poſitive Laws*, or *condeſcentions of Governours*, can make void the *Law* of *God*. For though a *righteous Prince* will not violate thoſe *Laws* which he hath conſented to, yet if he ſhould, it will not juſtifie thoſe *Subjects* that ſhall violate the Law of *God* and *Nature*, in *reſiſting* and *riſing up* againſt him in *Rebellion*; which would as it were argue *great ingratitude* to them who by *Acts of Grace* have *obliged* themſelves: (for, as St. *Auguſtine* obſerves, our *Prince*, like *God himſelf*, becomes a *Debtor* to man, *Non aliquid à nobis accipiendo, ſed omnia nobis largiendo*; Not by receiving any thing from us, but by promiſing all good things to us.) So it is a certain way to bring us all to *Confuſion*, if the *King* ſhould be judged as a *Criminal* upon every *tranſgreſſion* of the *Law*.

And I would ask those who would *bind their Kings in such Fetters*, By what authoritie they would proceed against him and judge him: would they erect another *High Court of Justice*, or bring him from his *Throne* to the *Block*? Would they *arm* the *people* again, on pretence of fighting for their *Laws and Liberties*? The end of those things we have seen to be the *death* of a most *righteous Prince*, and the *general destruction* of the *Subjects*. Wherefore I commend to you that of your *Bracton*: *Omnem esse sub Rege, & ipsum sub nullo sed tantum sub Deo.* And if he *contradict himself* in *this*, the suffrage of *Nature*, and the Laws of all *well-governed Nations*, will condemn him; which agree in this, That *Principi non est Lex posita*, there is *no Law* above the *Prince* that *makes the Law*, and by *whose Authoritie* alone the Laws are executed: for it is he that *beareth the Sword*. And *Plutarch* says of him, that he doth ἀ μόνον τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἀρχῶν, *not onely govern according to the Laws, but hath a power above them.* He hath so indeed for the *good* of his *Subjects*, to whom the *rigorous* execution of the *Laws*, in *many cases*, would be an insupportable *burden*, if by the *Kings Authoritie* they might not be *moderated*, and interpreted by Rules of *Equitie*; against which our *Dissenters* have the least reason of any men alive to object. And if we grant

grant him *this power* for *our good*, how can we deny it to him for his *own?*

That *Learned Caſuiſt*, Biſhop *Sanderſon*, whoſe *modeſty* in other *Reſolutions* is eminent, in reſolving this Queſtion, *Whether it be lawful for the Prince in caſes extraordinary, to do any thing beſides or againſt Law*, undertakes to prove the *Affirmative*, with an *extraordinary confidence*; and, which is more, to prove it by that *abuſed Maxime* which *ſome* would *invert* againſt the *King*, Salus Populi Suprema Lex, *That the Peoples Safetie is the higheſt Law. And if I prove not this, as your ſelves ſhall confeſs, from that very Maxime* (ſaith he) *then ſay, that I cannot ſee at noon-day; and cenſure me to have been not a* Defender *of this good Cauſe, but a* Betrayer *and* Prævaricator. Which thus he doth: Firſt, he tells us the *Original* of that Sentence, *viz.* from *Cicero de Legibus*, in theſe words, l. 3. Regio Imperio duo ſunto, iique præeundo, judicando, conſulendo, Prætores, Judices, Conſules appellantur: Militiæ Summum Jus habento nemini parento, Ollis Salus Populi Suprema Lex eſto. *Now to whom doth this power belong? to them* (*ſays the very Letter of thoſe Laws*) *to whom the Imperial power was committed, that is, to the two Conſuls for the time being. Come now,* (ſays the Biſhop) *all you that are the Patrons of* Popular confidence, *read, weigh, and exami-*

mine every Word, Syllable, and Comma, and shew where you can find the least hint of any power granted to Subjects against their Princes will, either to judge concerning the safety of the people, or to determine and do any thing against the Laws. Doth not the whole series both of Things and Words loudly proclaim, that the Supream Authoritie which is above all Law, and that the care of the Publick safetie properly belongs to him alone to whom the Imperial power, the right of the Militia, and that Supream Authoritie which is subject to none, is granted?

When the Law commands one thing, (says *Æneas Sylvius*, de Ortu Imperii, *c.* 20.) *and Equity another, it is fit the Emperour should temper the rigour of the Law with the bridle of Equity. Seeing no Decree of the Law, though made by never so deliberate advice, can sufficiently answer the various and unthought-of plottings of mans nature—— and it is manifest that the Laws which aforetime were just, in after-times may prove unjust, harsh, and unprofitable; to moderate which, it is needful that the Prince, who is Lord of the Laws, interpose his Authority. And where it is said, that a Law, though it be severe, should be observed: this respects inferiour Magistrates, not the Emperour, to whom the power of moderating the Laws is so connexed, that by no decrees of man it can be pull'd from him.*

Bishop *Sanderson* gives a pertinent instance

to

to this purpoſe, in his Book *de Oblig. Conſc.* p. 384. *That when upon diſcovery of the Gunpowder-plot the Traitors fled, ſome of them were purſued by the High Sheriff of* Worceſter-ſhire, *who having hunted them from place to place, came to the Confines of his Countie, beyond which he was not to paſs with his Souldiers by the Law: yet fearing that they might otherwiſe eſcape, he purſues them into another County, takes them, and brings them Priſoners. Yet knowing he had tranſgreſſed the Law, and leſt others in matters of leſs moment ſhould be encouraged to do the like, or himſelf be expoſed to future trouble, he preſently goes to the King and obtains his Pardon.*

What excellent *Chymiſts* were they, who out of thoſe *golden Laws* ſhould draw out ſo many *Swords* and *Axes* againſt their *Soveraign* and *Fellow-ſubjects*, on ſuch a vile pretence! And is not our *young Empyrick* neer of kin to *them*, who by his *Mountebank-Receipts* would poyſon the People with a conceit that they may by the Laws *arm themſelves* againſt the *King*, if they ſhall judge that he doth tranſgreſs thoſe Laws? that then he is no longer a *Miniſter of God*, but of the *Devil*, and may be perſecuted as a *Midnight-Thief*, or *Highway-Robber*, or in the words of *Gregory*, as a *common Cut-throat*, pag. 25. And that he is hardly to be blamed, who ſhews himſelf *ſo courageous for*

God, and for *that Religion which he approves*, as to *assassinate his Prince.*

To conclude, it is the judgement both of *Divines, Civilians*, and *Statesmen*, that there must be in *Kings* and *Governours* a *Supream Power* to *mitigate* the *rigour* of the *Laws*, and to *suspend* the *execution* of them; to pardon some Delinquents, and in case of necessity to provide for the *safety of the People*, besides, and against the Laws: and that to *arm* the People, and teach them on pretence of the *Law* to *resist* their Prince, is a pernicious Tenet, destructive to Government.

It is Criminal, (saith Mr. *Hunt p.*41.) *and no less dangerous to the being of any Polity, to restrain the Legislative Authority, and to entertain principles that disable it to provide remedy against the greatest mischiefs that can happen to any Community. No Government can support it self without an unlimited Power in providing for the happiness of the people. No civil Establishment but is controlable and alterable to the Publick Weal: Whatever is not of Divine Institution, ought to yield and submit to this Power and Authority.* And this is all that I, or any of my Brethren that I know of, ever intended to say of the *extent* of the *Kings Power*: That such *distempers* as are incurable by *common* and *prescribed* Remedies, such as the *Kings Evil* usually is, must have *extraordinary*

traordinarie applications, ſuch as the *Kings hand*, and none but *his*, may ſucceſsfully adminiſter.

Nor doth any among us plead that the *King* is above the *Directive power* of the *Laws*, but onely that he is not under the *Coercive power* of them. For which cauſe *Antonie* would not permit that *Herod* ſhould be called to an account of what he did as a *King*, for then he ſhould in effect be *no King* at all: for what power can *judge* him who is the *Supreme power* on Earth? *The Emperour* (ſaith *Tertull.*) *is* ſolo Deo minor, *inferiour to God onely, and under the power of God onely*; *In cujus ſolius poteſtate ſunt, à quo ſunt ſecundi, poſt quem primi.* And St. *Ambroſe* ſpeaking of *David*, applieth it to other Kings: *He was a King, and obnoxious to no humane Laws, becauſe Kings are free from puniſhment for their offences, being ſecured by the power of their Empire.* If the *People* have power to call the King to an *account*, the Eſtate is *Democratical*: if the *Peers*, it is *Ariſtocratical*; but if indeed it be *Monarchical*, *neither*, nor *both*, can *judge* their *Prince*.

In the firſt Homily againſt *Rebellion*, p. 1. our *Church* ſays, that *in reading of the Holy Scriptures we ſhall find in very many places, as well of the Old Teſtament as the New, That Kings and Princes, as well the evil as the good, do reign by Gods Ordinance*; *and that Subjects are bound to obey them.* The

The *Augustan* Confession, Article 16. *Christians must necessarily obey the present Magistrates and Laws, except when they command to sin.*

French Confession, Article 11. *We ought to obey Laws and Statutes, pay Tribute, and bear other burdens of Subjection, and undergo the Yoke with a good will, although the Magistrates should be Infidels; so that God's Soveraign Authoritie remains inviolate.*

The *Belgick* Confession. *All men, of what dignitie, qualitie, or state soever they be, must subject themselves unto the lawful Magistrates, pay them Imposts and Tributes, and please and obey them in all things not repugnant to the Word of God: Also pray for them, that God would be pleased to direct them in all their actions, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life under them in all pietie and honestie.*

The *Helvetick* Confession. *Let all Subjects honour and reverence the Magistrate as the Minister of God: Let them love and assist him, and pray for him as their Father; let them obey him in all his just and equitable Commands, and pay all Imposts, Tributes, and other Dues faithfully and willingly: And in case of War, let them also lay down their lives, and spill their blood for the good of the Publick, and of the Magistrate, willingly, vailiantly, and cheerfully. For he that opposeth himself to the Magistrate, pro-*

provoketh the heavie wrath of God upon himſelf.

The *Bohemian* Confeſſion. *Let every one yield ſubjection in all things not contrarie to God, to the Higher Powers and their Officers, whether good or bad.*

The *Saxonick* Confeſſion. *The more a Chriſtian is ſincere in Faith, the more he ought to ſubject himſelf to the publick Laws.*

But I ſhall end where I began, with the *Doctrine* of our *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors*, who *ſealed* with their *bloud* the Truths that they *publiſhed* with their *Pens*; for whom in vain do we *build* and *garniſh Monuments* of Fame to their *memories*, while we are *Apoſtates* from their *Doctrine* and *Practice*.

The firſt *Reformers* of our Religion, in *the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian man*, on the *Fifth Commandment*, ſay, *That Subjects be bound not to withdraw their Fealtie, Truth, Love, and Obedience from their Prince FOR ANY CAUSE WHATSOEVER IT BE; ne for any cauſe may they conſpire againſt his perſon, ne do any thing towards the hinderance or hurt thereof, or of his eſtate: And by his Commandment they are bound to obey all the Laws, Proclamations, Precepts, and Commandments made by their Princes and Governours, except they be againſt the Commandment of God. And likewiſe they be bound to obey all ſuch as are in Authoritie under*

der their Prince, as far as he will have them obeyed. They must also give unto their Prince aid, help, and assistance, whensoever he shall require the same, either for suretie, preservation, or maintenance of his Person and Estate, or of the Realm, or of the defence of any of the same against all persons. And there be many examples in Scripture of the vengeance of God that hath fallen upon RULERS *and such as have been disobedient to their Princes. But one principal example to be noted, is of the Rebellion of* Core, Dathan, *and* Abiram, *made against their Governours* Moses *and* Aaron: *For punishment of which Rebels, God not onely caused the Earth to open, and to swallow them down, and a great number of other people with them, with their houses, and all their substance; but caused also a fire to descend from Heaven, and to burn up two hundred and fiftie Captains which conspired with them in the Rebellion.*

And again, on the *Sixth Commandment: No Subjects may draw their Sword against their Prince, for what cause soever it be, nor against any others (saving for lawful defence) without their Princes license. And it is their dutie to draw their Swords for the defence of their Prince and Realm, whensoever the Prince shall command. And although Princes which be the chief and supreme Heads of Realms, do otherwise than they ought, yet God hath assigned no*

Judges

Judges over them in this world, but will have the judgment of them reſerved to himſelf.

Sir *John Cheek*, who was Tutor to King *Edward* the Sixth, and a perſon of great *Learning* and *Integrity*, in his Book called, *The true Subject to the Rebel*, ſpeaks to this purpoſe: *If you were offered perſecution for Religion, you ought to fly for it; and yet you intend to fight. If you would ſtand in the truth, you ought to ſuffer like Martyrs; and you would ſlay like Tyrants. Thus for Religion you keep no Religion, and neither will follow the Council of Chriſt, nor the Conſtancy of Martyrs.* And then asking the people why they ſhould not *like* that *Religion* which *Gods word* eſtabliſhed, the *Primitive Church* authorized, and the whole *conſent of the Parliament* confirmed, and his *Majeſty* had ſet forth; he ſays, *Dare you Commons take upon you more Learning than the Choſen Biſhops and Clerks of this Realm have?*

I ſuppoſe that the Author of *Julians Life* might tranſcribe that Act of Queen *Mary* above-mentioned, out of Mr. *Prynnes* ſecond part of *the Loyalty of pious Chriſtians*, &c. where we have it printed at large, p. 65. from whence he might very honeſtly have told us Mr. *Prynnes* Judgment of ſuch *Prayers* as were made againſt the Queen; who, (p. 64.) ſays, *That Queen* Maries *zealous Proteſtant Biſhops, Miniſters, and Subjects likewiſe, made conſtant prayers*

prayers for her: But ſome over-zealous Anabaptiſtical Fanaticks uſing ſome unchriſtian expreſſions in their prayers againſt her, That God would cut her off, and ſhorten her daies, *occaſioned this ſpecial Act againſt ſuch prayers.* And having repeated the Act, he adds, p. 66. *Theſe prayers were much againſt, and directly contrary to the Judgment of Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *Biſhop* Farrer, *Biſhop* Hooper, Rowland Taylor, John Philpot, John Bradford, Edward Crome, John Rogers, Laurence Sanders, Edward Laurence, Miles Coverdale *Biſhop of* Exon, *and others of our Godly Proteſtant Biſhops and Miniſters, who ſoon after ſuffered as Martyrs. They in their Letter* (May 8. 1554.) *profeſſing, that as Obedient Subjects we ſhall behave our ſelves towards Queen* Mary, *and all that be in authority, and not ceaſe to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all generally and particularly with the Spirit of Wiſdom and Grace: and ſo we heartily deſire and humbly pray all men to do, in no point conſenting to any kind of Rebellion or Sedition againſt our Soveraign Lady the Queens Highneſs; but where they cannot obey, but they muſt diſobey God, there to ſubmit themſelves with all patience and humility, to ſuffer as well what the will and pleaſure of the higher Powers ſhall adjudge, as we are ready through the goodneſs of the Lord to ſuffer whatſoever they ſhall judge us*

unto

unto. And Biſhop Hooper *wrote an Apologie againſt the Slanderous report made of him, that he ſhould encourage and maintain ſuch as curſed Queen* Mary: printed 1552. *wherein his Innocence and Loyalty to the Queen, in praying for her, are vindicated at large.* So far Mr. *Prynne.*

Take the ſence of one *Marian Martyr* more, Mr. *William Tindal*, in a Book *de Chriſtiani hominis Obedientia*, ſaying, *In every Kingdom, the King, which hath no Superiour, judgeth of all things; and therefore he that endeavoureth or intendeth any miſchief or calamity againſt the Prince that is a Tyrant, or a Perſecutor, or whoſoever with a forward hand doth touch the Lords Anointed, he is a Rebel againſt God, and reſiſteth the Ordinance of God. And as it is not lawful upon any pretence to reſiſt the King, ſo it is not lawful to riſe up againſt the Kings Officer or Magiſtrate that is ſent by the King for the execution of thoſe things that are commanded by the King.*

And Mr. *Barus* in Tract. *de Humanis Conſtitut.* ſaith, *That the Servants of Chriſt rather than commit any evil, or reſiſt any Magiſtrate, ought patiently to ſuffer the loſs of their goods, and the tearing of their members:* Nay, the Chriſtian, *after the example of Chriſt his Maſter, ought to ſuffer the bitterеſt death for Truth and Righteouſneſs ſake: and therefore*

who

who ever ſhall rebel under pretence of Religion, æternæ damnationis erit reus.

Now *theſe men* gave their Opinions for *Paſſive Obedience*, even before Queen *Mary* had altered the *Laws*, (i. e.) their Religion was by the *eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land*, the onely *allowed Religion*; yet they were far from defending it by *reſiſtance* and *Rebellion*.

It is a difficult matter to perſwade them to *ſuffer*, that never knew what it was to *obey*: ſuch as were educated in a time of *Rebellion*, and inſtead of being catechized in the Principles of the *Goſpel*, were from their childhood taught how to *ſtand on their guard*, and *defie* their Governours; and being become *wealthie* by the *Spoils* wreſted by themſelves or their Anceſtors from the *King*, the *Church*, or their more *Religious* and *Loyal Brethren*, think that *Providence* will juſtifie them in all their *Seditious attempts*, and that the *Millennium* of *Chriſts reign upon Earth* is begun; and that *all Laws* now muſt be ſubſervient to the ſupport of *that Perſwaſion* of theirs; and that *their Religion* hath been in full and quiet poſſeſſion ever ſince 42 at leaſt; and therefore to teach men now, that they ought to *ſuffer* rather than *reſiſt* their lawful Princes, is the *Mahometan Doctrine* of the *Bow-ſtring*; which is indeed the whole Oeconomie of the *Goſpel*, as will appear by what followeth.

If

If we compare *Deut.* 28. with *Matth.* 15. it will appear, that as *Proſperitie* was the Bleſſing of the *Old Teſtament*, ſo *Perſecution* is of the *New*. And there is no *Robberie* in the *Exchange:* for though we are called to *forſake houſe, friends, and lands for Chriſts ſake, we ſhall receive in this time a hundred fold, though with perſecution.* Mark. 10. 40. beſides the *Aureola*, or *double Crown, in the life to come.* How comes it then to paſs, that the Doctrine of the *Croſs* is become *Fooliſhneſs*, and a *Stumbling-block* to us *Chriſtians*, as it was to the *Jews* and *Greeks?* That which was the *Glorie* of the *Apoſtles*, and eſteemed above earthly Kingdoms by the *Primitive Chriſtians*, even the *Crown of Martyrdom*, is now trampled on, deſpiſed, and diſcredited, as the reward of *Fools*, and *men wearie of their lives.*

The *Gnoſticks* drew *tears* from the *Apoſtles eyes*, when he conſidered how they both taught and practiſed the lawfulneſs of *denying Chriſt* in times of *perſecution:* (Phil. 3. 18.) *Many walk of whom I have told you often, and now tell you with weeping, that they are enemies to the Croſs of Chriſt.* Such were crept in among the *Galatians*, who by all art and induſtrie increaſed their numbers, that they might not ſuffer perſecution for the Croſs of Chriſt, *Gal.* 6. 12. But *God forbid* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *that I ſhould rejoyce ſave in the Croſs of*

our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to me, and I unto the world.

The *Scars* that *Souldiers* receive in the service of their *Prince*, are esteemed *Marks* of *Honour*: and every *pettie Prince* can lead forth *Legions* to look *Death in the face* at his command: Every *new Sect* can boast of their *Dipticks* and *Martyrologies*; and there is *scarce a good man* in the world, but some or other would *even dare to die* for him: And what difficulties do affright *men of resolution*, when they contend but for a *Garland of Flowers* or *Laurel*, fading and unsatisfactorie rewards! And hath *our blessed Redeemer* onely so ill deserved of us for all the great things that he hath done both for our Souls and Bodies? or is he only so unable to requite our *service* and *labour of love*, that we should forsake him, when a *small Storm* threatneth us, or falls upon our heads? When *Henry* the Fourth of *France* was engaged in fight against his *Enemies*, and his *Friends* began to *give ground*; he minds them what a *Reproach* it would be to the *Nobilitie* and *Gentrie* of *France*, that of all their *numbers*, there were not fiftie that stood by him in the *Camp*, that had thousands waiting on him in his *Court*. *Pudet hæc opprobria, &c.*

It is no rash, fruitless, or desperate designe that our Saviour calls us to: He forewarned

us

us at our firſt entrance to our Holy Profeſſion, that we *could not be his Diſciples except we deny our ſelves, and take up the Croſs and follow him:* and *he that doth not ſo,* ſaith our Saviour, *is not worthy of me,* Matth. 10. 38. Matth. 16. 24. Luke 14. 27. Nor is it fruitleſs: he hath wiſe and great ends, not onely for the glorie of his *Father,* but the good of his *Church,* in every affliction: that *Vine,* as well as the common ones, ſpreads and proſpers the *more,* when it is at the wiſdom of the Vine-dreſſer watered with *blood.* As in leſſer afflictions *God chaſtiſeth us for our good, that we may be partakers of his Holineſs*; ſo doth he with greater, that he may *bring us to glory.*

Many a man might have periſhed eternally, if they had not periſhed temporally; God by his Righteous judgments *calling their ſins to remembrance,* and working in them *repentance unto life. Behold,* ſaith St *James, we count them happy that endure. You have heard of the patience of* Job, *and have ſeen the end of the Lord, that the Lord is very pittiful, and of tender mercy.* *Jobs* Graces had not given ſo great a light and ground of *Conſolation* to the world, if they had not been tryed in the fire of affliction; which is ſo needful for the *purging out* our *Corruption,* that we are told. *All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus ſhall ſuffer perſecution*; and that *we muſt through Many tribulations*

enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

The *Afflictions* which God sends do often bear an *Inscription* of those *sins* that procured them: as when *Josephs* brethren were under apprehension of *great fear, they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw him in the anguish of his Soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear him.* If we are oppress and persecuted by our *own Country-men* and *false brethren*, let us consider whether we have not been such, and dealt so with our Brethren. If God permit us to be persecuted by a *Christian Prince*, consider what guilt yet lieth on the Nation for the *Persecution* and *Murther* of a *most Christian King*; and learn to improve the Judgment into a Mercy, by *repentance* and *patience* under Gods afflicting hand. If no such guilt lies upon us, then think that God calls us forth as *Combatants*, to shew examples of *Christian Faith, Love*, and *Resolution*, in an Age that is *corrupted* by *long prosperity*, and become *effeminate* and *delicate*, through *plenty* and *luxury:* and a *Plethory* is to be cured by *Phlebotomy.*

How the *Church thrived* under *Persecution*, we have many instances. The *first Persecution* scattering the *Disciples*, caused the Gospel to be planted *through the world*; and being planted, the bloud of those that dyed made it so

ſo fruitful, that the Preſident of *Paleſtine* wrote to *Tiberius*, that *they were weary of ſlaying them; who never ſo much as fled or hid themſelves, and yet multiplyed the more for being put to death.* *Pliny* alſo writing to *Trajan*, complains, *prope jam deſolata templa, & ſacra Solennia diu intermiſſa.* It was otherwiſe when the Church *flouriſhed outwardly* in the days of *Conſtantius*: the Chriſtians drove one another *from the Altars*, and by their *ambitious* and *popular Conteſts*, made the *Sacrifices of God* to be *abominated by the heathen.*

Whatever the *puniſhment* be, we muſt accept it as the *demerit* of our *Sins*, and as inflicted by a moſt righteous and glorious God. And if becauſe, as in the days of *Conſtantius*, we denie the *power of godlineſs*, and exerciſe of *Charity* to one another, it is juſt with God to deprive us of the very *form* of it, and commit us to be *Chaſtiſed* by a *common Enemy*, as they were by *Julian*; We muſt *bear the Indignation of the Lord, becauſe we have ſinned againſt him.*

Conſider what Chriſt *ſuffered for us*; he *endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame*: and being *now at the right hand of God*, calls on us to *follow his Example*, promiſing, that *if we ſuffer, we ſhall alſo reign with him.* And ſhall our Saviour be *forſaken* as ſoon as he is *apprehended*, and be again called on to *come down*

from the Croſs, that we may believe in him? ſhall we draw back, as the beaſts were wont, from that Altar which our Saviour hath ſanctified and made our ſureſt Sanctuary againſt Evils? *Think it not ſtrange,* ſaith St. *Peter,* 1. 4. 12.) *concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as if ſome ſtrange thing had hapned to you: but rejoyce, in as much as you are made partakers of Chriſts ſufferings; that when his Glory ſhall appear, ye may be glad with exceeding joy.* Would our Saviour have bid us to *rejoyce and be exceeding glad* when we *ſuffer perſecution for his ſake,* if it were a thing impoſſible, that *as Afflictions do abound, ſo our Conſolations* ſhall alſo?

With what an *Emphaſis* doth the Spirit of God deſcribe the bleſſedneſs of them that ſuffer or die for the ſake of Chriſt! 1 *Pet.* 4. 14. *the Spirit of God and of Glory* (i. e. the glorious Spirit of God) *reſteth on you:* and verſ. 15. *If any man ſuffer as a Chriſtian, let him not be aſhamed; but let him gloriſie God on this behalf.* And ſo St. *John, Bleſſed are the dead that die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours, and their works follow them,* Revel. 14. 13. *Be thou faithful unto death* (to the ſuffering of death) *and I will give thee a Crown of life,* Revel. 2. 10.

If we did indeed believe all that to be *true* which our Saviour hath told us, we would not be

be *offended at the Croſs.* The *growth* of our *fears*, is from the *decay* of our *Faith: Why are ye fearful, O ye of little Faith! Abraham*, who was *ſtrong in Faith*, was alſo perſwaded that what God had *promiſed*, he was able to *perform*, and therefore *offered up his onely Son*, who was dearer than his own life; and left his *Country* and *Kindred* at the Command of God. This was the *Victory* whereby the ancient Worthies *overcame* a world of Perſecutors, *even their Faith*, that Faith that gave a *ſubſiſtence to things to come*, and *apprehended them as preſent*: that Faith that made them *look through things Temporal* to *things Eternal*. They could, as the *Proto-martyr* St. *Stephen*, *ſee the heavens opened, and Chriſt ſtanding at the right hand of God*; Et quid pulchrius Deo ſpectaculum, quam Chriſtianus cum dolore congreſſus, quum adverſum minas, ſupplicia, & tormenta, componitur! No ſpectacle is more pleaſing to God, than a well-compoſed Chriſtian conflicting with puniſhments and torments.

Chriſt as it were leaves his ſeat, and ſtands up, not onely to *behold*, but to *encourage* and *aſſiſt* ſuch Combatants. *Non enim nos ſpectat tantum, ſed in nobis ipſe luctatur.* And when Chriſt takes all that is done to his *Members* as done to *himſelf*; when *in all their afflictions he is afflicted*; when he aſſures us as by his Word

and Oath, that he will *never leave us nor forſake us*: And that *all things ſhall co-operate to our good*: If *the love of Chriſt* were indeed *ſhed abroad in our hearts*, it would *conſtrain us* to do and ſuffer *any thing* that he ſhall call or command us to do or ſuffer. For *there is no fear in love: perfect love will caſt out* all baſe *fears*. Love would ſo unite us to him whom we love, that as *nothing* could on Chriſts part *ſeparate us from his love*; ſo neither would any thing on our part work a *ſeparation*. Rom. 8. 38.

And what is there in the *world*, or in *our ſelves*, of ſuch weight, as the *full enjoyment* of our *Saviour* may not outweigh! here is nothing but *ſin* and *miſery*, *infirmities* and *temptations* daily aſſaulting us, and leading us Captives. The very *Heathen*, that had no hopes of a *better life*, ſaw cauſe to be weary of *this*, and eſteemed it *the greateſt bleſſing*, *not to be born*; *but the next to it*, *to die ſpeedily*. But to us *Chriſtians*, to whom *Cita mors eſt victoria læta*, death ſhould be eſteemed a gain; it is a paſſage from a *vale of tears*, to a *Crown* and *Kingdom*, where *we ſhall be ever with the Lord*. *Wherefore lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees*, and make your ſelves ready for your *laſt journey* to your *everlaſting Reſt*. And let them that are *called to ſuffer according to the will of God, commit their ſouls to him in well doing, as to a faithful Creator*, 1 Pet. 4. 19.

AN

AN APPENDIX,

Containing

A more full and particular Anſwer to Mr. *Hunt's* Preface and Poſtſcript.

THe Author of the *life of Julian* having taken his Meaſures and *chief Materials* from the late *Libels* of Mr. *Hunt*, and both of them their whole *Scheme* from *John Milton's Defence* of that moſt execrable Murther committed on the *Royal Martyr*, by thoſe whom he calls *the People of England*, who were indeed the very *ſcum* and *offſcouring*, the *reproach* and *peſts* of the Nation; I ſhall make my way to the Confutation of the firſt, by ſome Remarks on the Writings of the other. And whereas I did onely occaſionally reflect on ſome paſſages of the *Poſtſcript* of Mr. *Hunt*, in my *Anſwer* to the *Life of Julian*; I ſhall now more particularly examine thoſe other *ſeditious* and *treaſonable* *Wri-*

Writings of Mr. *Hunt*, which since came to my hand.

The first Pamphlet which I have answered in the precedent Papers, is, *the Life of Julian*. He begins his *Preface* to the Reader with a story of *Mahomets Horns*, half *Fire* and half *Snow*; which by altering the phrase he borrowed from a parallel expression of Mr. *Hunt*'s upon the like occasion: for he compares the *Addressers* to those *pleasant Knaves that cry with one side of the face, and laugh with the other*, Postscr. p. 13. And to *him that acted a grave Spaniard with one side of his body, and a brisk French-man with the other*. This drew on his conceit of *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*; and it was very easie by so strong a *Chain of thoughts* as our Author hath, to pass from *Spain* and *France* into *Turky*; with the *Religion* and *Manners* of which Country he seems *better acquainted*, than with that of *Christendom*, or else he would never have compared the Doctrine of the *Cross* with the *Mahometan* Doctrine of the *Bow-string*, p. 8. of his Preface.

But sure he stretcht his *Chain* very much, when from the *Address* of the *men of Rippon*, thanking his Majestie for his *Declaration to govern by Laws*, and to *maintain the established Religion*, and to *call frequent Parliaments*, and desiring that the *Crown* might descend in the *right Line*; he concludes, that *they prayed*

against

againſt all theſe, and made it their humble requeſt *that they might be ſure of a Popiſh Succeſſour*, and *were weary of their Religion*, p. 5, 6.

But he broke every *link* of this *Chain*, when (though he put on his *conſidering-Cap*) he could not find any *Precedent* or *Example* for *ſuch an Addreſs*. But preſently had *an imperfect remembrance* (for ſuch indeed it was) of the *contrary Carriage* of the *Primitive Chriſtians towards* Julian: whereas our Author might more *eaſily* and *fitter to his purpoſe*, have remembred the Behaviour of *ſome other Chriſtians* (as they profeſſed themſelves) towards King *Charles* the Firſt; and then he might have deſerved the Office of a *City-Remembrancer*.

But he *wickedly*, and (I hope by what I ſhall diſcover) *in vain* endeavours *to* impoſe his *Seditious Doctrine* on the Nation. For this *Notorious Plagiary* hath taken his *whole deſign* (as Mr. *Hunt* had done before him) from an *Argument* of that *profligate Villain*, *John Milton*, whereby he attempted to *defend* the Murther of our *Royal Martyr*: and that *ſome paſſages* in the *Life of Julian* have the *ſame malignant aſpect* and *influence*, I have ſhewn in my Obſervations on a paſſage quoted by our Author out of *Sozomen*, in commendation of *Regicide*. So that his *Chain of Thoughts* will hang

hang no more together than a *Rope of Sand*: for he runs so far from the *Loyal Addressers*, as to fall in with *Rebels* and *Regicides*. His whole design is to justifie *Resistance of Lawful Powers* in *defence* of that *Religion* which we *profess* and *allow of*, especially when we are *in possession* of that Religion, and it is *established by Law*: (though by the way, both the *established Religion* and *Christianity* it self, as well as the *Laws of the Land*, are *ipso facto* destroyed by resistance.)

This *Leviathan* fancying to himself *a wide difference* between the Case of *those Christians* that lived *under Julian*, and the Case of the *first Christians*, sports himself in the depth of this great Invention, and scoffs at all the Arguments brought for *Obedience* and *Subjection* from the *Primitive Christians* before *Constantine*, as the Leviathan in *Job* 41. who *esteemed Iron as Straw, and Brass as rotten wood, and laugheth at the shaking of the Spear. Their case* (saith he of the Christians in *Julians* time) *and that of the Primitive Christians, was as widely different, as Laws for men and against men can possibly make them*: Yet for ought I see, be the Laws for or against his *Doctrine of Resistance*, it must be swallowed; for though he tells us that *our Laws* do not admit of *such thoughts* as his *Julian Christians* did put in practice, yet the design must on, or the whole labour

labour of our Author muſt periſh.

And who can help it? when men will build on the *Sand*, and *daub with untempered Mortar*, ſuch as *blood* and *ſlime*, whatever *coſt* or *time* is beſtowed on ſuch a *Fabrick*, is caſt away, and the *fall* of it will be *great*. On this *falſe ſuppoſition* theſe two *Maſter-builders*, with whom I am now accounting, do with an *unaccountable Confidence* lay the *ſtreſs* of all their Diſcourſes. And though I have ſaid enough to deſtroy this *falſe Hypotheſis* in the *Anſwer*, yet becauſe they think to *ſuperſede* the Arguments brought for *Obedience*, from the practice of the *firſt Chriſtians* for three hundred years, and perſwade the *preſent Age* that they do not at all concern us, but that we may rather do as the *Julian Chriſtians* did, that is, *rail at* and *reſiſt* our *Superiours*, having our Religion *eſtabliſhed by Law*, though both our *Religion* and *Law* declare preciſely that we *may not reſiſt, for any pretence whatſoever*; I ſhall add ſomewhat here to *prevent* that *prejudice* and *preoccupation* which *our Authors* have *falſly* and *maliciouſly* inſinuated. And to this end, I ſhall prove, that the *Chriſtians* in *Julians* time were under *the ſame Government* and *circumſtances* (abſtracted from the Chriſtian Religion) with thoſe of the *firſt three hundred years*; and if they had *reſiſted*, it was altogether as *unjuſtifiable* as that of thoſe *Primitive*

mitive Chriſtians would have been, or *ours now* can be.

Cicero acquaints us wherein the Imperial Power did conſiſt when it was firſt founded among the *Romans*, l. 3. *de Legibus*, in theſe words: *Regio Imperio duo ſunto, iique præeundo, judicando, conſulendo, Prætores, Judices, Conſules appellantor: Militiæ Summum jus habento, nemini parento: Ollis ſalus Populi Suprema Lex eſto.* (i. e.) *Let there be two perſons in the Royal Empire, and let them be called from their precedence Prætors, from their Judicature Judges, from their Conſultations Conſuls: Let them have the higheſt command of the Militia: Let them obey no man: Let the ſafety of the people be to them the Supream Law.* How this latter Clauſe is to be underſtood, is fully reſolved in the *preceding Diſcourſe*. But all theſe do certainly amount to an *Abſolute uncontrolable power*, which being *firſt* ſetled in the *two Conſuls*, was *afterward* by the Senate conferred on *Auguſtus*, and called the *Lex Regia*: by which it was declared, that (*Quicquid per Epiſtolam ſtatuit, cognoſcens decrevit, aut per Edictum propalavit, Lex eſto*) *Whatever he ſhould determine by his Epiſtle, whatever he ſhould decree upon Cognizance, or declare by his Edict, ſhould be a Law.*

This very *power* of the *Empire* was in being when our *Saviour* and his *Apoſtles* lived on

on the Earth; who, though they were *far remote* from *Rome*, yet preciſely *ſubmitted* to the *Roman Emperours*, and did indiſpenſibly oblige his Diſciples in all times to come to do the ſame; becauſe the *powers* that *then were*, though an *Auguſtus*, *Nero*, or *Claudian*, Heathen and Perſecutors, were *ordained of God*, to be his *Miniſters*, to *bear the Sword*, to receive *Tribute* and *Cuſtom*, *Fear* and *Honour*, &c. And that therefore they *muſt needs be ſubject*, *not onely for* fear of *wrath*, *but for the Lords ſake*, and *for Conſcience ſake*. And the obedience which was to be given them is expreſſed by ὑποτάσσεσθαι, to be at their Command as *Souldiers* are to their *General*, and πειθαρχεῖν, to obey them at a word, *Titus* 3. 1. Hence it was (I mean from the *Roman Laws*, not from the *Scripture*) that *Dion* ſays of *Auguſtus*, that he was Ἀνυπεύθυνος, ἢ ἀνυπεύθυνος, ἢ ἑαυτῷ, ἢ τοῖς νόμοις, *Free, and of abſolute Authoritie, both over himſelf, and over the Laws: for*, Rex eſt Lex viva, & reipſa præcipit ut Lex per ſcriptum: *That the Emperour is a living Law, and commands as much by word, as the Law doth by writing*: and the *S. P. Q. R.* by their own abbreviation, became an unintelligible Cypher.

Thus the *Roman Empire* continued until the Reign of *Conſtantine*, or elſe he could not have *propagated* the *Chriſtian Religion* ſo much as he did by his *Edicts*; there being, as is

ſup-

supposed, many *strict Laws* against it. And it is not to be credited by *Christians*, that the *Imperial power* should be *disanulled* by their becoming Christians. If it be said that they *themselves* did consent to the *abridgment* of it, let the *Records* be produced, and let the *Donation of Constantine* in this respect be more probable than that *fictitious one* which the *Pope* produceth for the *Western Empire*, of which I have spoken in another place. *See the History of the Donatists.* What was done by *Constantine*, who was not *baptized* till the *latter end* of his Reign, and made *many Edicts* for the *toleration* of *all Religions*, as is shewn in the foregoing Papers, will scarce amount to an *Establishment* of the *Christian Religion.*

But granting that he had to the utmost of his power *established* the *Christian Religion*, yet his *Successor* thought himself not at all obliged by his *Edicts:* for, by the *same Reason* that *Constantius* should be bound by the Edicts of *Constantine*, *Constantine* should be bound by the Edicts of *Diocletian* for the *persecution* of *Christians.* But, as our Author hath observed from *Gregory Nazianzen*, who speaking of *Julian's Souldiers*, who (were most of them *Christians*, and yet besides the Law of God) *knew no other Law than the Will of their Prince.* Invective 1. p. 75. And in truth, if the *Christian Emperours* had been *explicitly*

plicitly and *abſolutely* bound up to their *Subjects* to maintain their *Religion* and *Priviledges* which by the favour and grace of *thoſe Emperours* were granted to them, and the Subjects left at *liberty* to *defend* and *obey* their *Emperours*, the Emperours had been in a worſe condition than their Subjects: for upon the Peoples *changing of their Religion*, as we know they did when *almoſt the whole World became Arians*, they might have reſiſted their *moſt Orthodox Emperours*; as Mr. *Hunt* affirms they *actually did* in the Reign of *Conſtantius*.

But what Religion could the Chriſtians plead that they were *long in poſſeſſion* of, and was *eſtabliſhed by Laws!* When *Conſtantius* nothing regarding the *Conſtitutions* of his *Predeceſſor*, did with all his *might*, and *frequent Edicts*, eſtabliſh the *Arian Religion*, and ſuppreſs the *Orthodox*, hath been already ſhewn. Beſides, there were *Urbes liberæ*, not onely *free Cities*, but *free Nations* under the *Romans*, who were govern'd by their own *Laws* and *Magiſtrates*, καὶ τοῖς νόμοις πολεῖται and καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔθη πολίτοις καὶ τοῖσιν, which they held *inviolable*. Of this nature *Joſephus*, l. 16. c. 4. of his *Antiquities*, obſerves the *Aſian Churches* mentioned in the *Revelations* to be, who had *jus* ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀυτονομίας, *a right of Liberty*, and *legal Priviledges*, yet did none of *thoſe Churches* ever *plead* their

Priviledges, or plead *exemption* from the *Emperours Edicts*. Yea, Christ himself, who might have pleaded exemption from paying tribute unto *Cæsar*, (the *Children* as he says being *free*) yet to *avoid scandal*, he works a Miracle for the payment of it, and enjoyns his Disciples to *give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*.

The weight of these and those other Arguments which follow, will I doubt not sink that Triumphant Arch which our Author hath raised, into those Quick-sands on which he grounded it. And I shall now proceed to erect a *lasting Pillar* to the perpetual Infamy of *this Author*, upon such *firm* and *impregnable grounds*, as shall continue against all the *impetuous* but *impotent blasts* of this *Boreas*.

It hath been accounted a good method for refuting of Errours, to reduce them to their first Principles and Originals. Be it known then to all men, that our Author hath *bid defiance* to the *Laws* of *God* and *Man*, in teaching the Doctrine of *Resistance*, which was *never taught* among any *Christians* until *Popery* was come to its perfection. That he hath as much as in him lieth, *scandalized* and even *condemned* the *Primitive Christians*, as *allowing of* and *practising* that *intolerable Doctrine* of *Resistance*. That both he and Mr. *Hunt*, have *defended* this Doctrine by the *same Arguments*

as

as the Jeſuits, John Milton, and *other Regicides* have done. That *John Milton,* &c. received the ſame Principles from Mr. *Burton,* Mr. *Burroughs, Bridge, Marſhal,* and *others,* in defence of the late *Unnatural War* againſt *Charles the Firſt.* That their *deſign* is to raiſe *another War,* on the *ſame grounds,* againſt their preſent Prince. And though they ſeem to blind their deſigns by preparing onely to *exclude* a *Popiſh Succeſſour,* yet 'tis beyond denial, that all the *Arguments* of the *Author of Julian* are levelled againſt the *Prince that is in poſſeſſion,* and that he doth with the ſhew of Authority recommend the aſſaſſination of ſuch a Prince, and that Mr. *Hunt*'s *Original* far exceeds the *Tranſcript* in ſuch impious deſigns.

If *this Character* be not *black* enough, let him that reads and underſtands, onely ſubſcribe the *name* of the *Author* of the *Life of Julian* with that of Mr. *Hunt, In perpetuam Rei memoriam*; and you have all in two words.

As for Mr. *Hunt,* if *this paſſage* which I ſhall name do not amount to more *direct Treaſon,* than thoſe for which he ſays he would *indite* a *great perſon* (no leſs than a Secretary of State) of---- Treaſon in a *plea* for the *Succeſſion*; I think there can be no ſuch thing. The Paragraph, p. 193. as it is marked in my Copy, is *verbatim* this: Speaking of the Duke --- *Let him attempt the Crown not-*

withſtanding an Act of Parliament for his Excluſion, he is all that while but attempting to make us miſerable: if he be not excluded, he doth it certainly, (*we exclude onely his Perſon, not his Poſterity*). *And* WE WILL NOT ENTAIL A WAR UPON THE NATION, THOUGH FOR THE SAKE AND INTEREST OF THE GLORIOUS FAMILY OF THE STUARTS.

Is not this ſpoken *Dictator-like?* Did *Cromwel* ſay more when he bragg'd that he had the *Parliament in his pocket?* Then, *We will have this*, and *we will not have that*; We *will proclaim the Family of the Stuarts Traitors, and we will have our own will.* His *premiſe* is *this*—*If the Duke be not excluded, he doth certainly make us miſerable, by entailing a War upon the Nation:* (which may be falſe, if the *ancient Proverb* be true (*Gen.* 22. 12.) *In the mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen:* it was ſpoken when the *knife* was *lifted up* to make *Iſaac* a *Sacrifice*, (and we know that the *burning buſh* was not *conſumed.*) But the *Concluſion* is certainly moſt impious, *We will not entail a War up the Nation, though for the ſake and intereſt of the glorious Family of the* Stuarts. To let paſs that *Irony* of THE GLORIOUS FAMILY OF THE STUARTS; The *plain ſence* of the words to a *Logician* is this:

this: *Rather than not exclude the Duke of* York, *who will certainly make us miſerable, we will exclude the glorious Family of the* Stuarts. This is as much as need to be ſaid at preſent, to cure the *preiudice* of a *deluded and unthinking people*, as Mr. *Hunt* calls them

Had Mr. *Hunt's Preface* and *Poſtſcript* come to my hands before I had well-nigh finiſhed my *Anſwer*, and ſent *ſome ſheets* to the *Preſs* (the reſt being called for with all expedition) that the *Printer* might not be *prejudiced* by the edition of *other Tracts* on *this ſubject*; I ſhould have taken a more *particular view* of all that is contained in them: whereas I can now onely *curſorily* make a *few Remarks*, and leave the Reader to judge *Ex ungue leonem.*

We live (ſaith he, p. 150.) *in an Age of myſtery and prodigie, producing things monſtrous and unnatural; and our language muſt be agreeable to the things we ſpeak.* And ſo it is *very obſcure*, and yet *unnatural*, But I ſhall endeavour to drag this *Author* to the *light*, and preſent him with his *three heads.*

The firſt is his *Invective* againſt the Clergy. This poureth forth *flouds* of *Contempt* upon the *whole Order.*

The ſecond is his *Juſtification* of the late *Unnatural War*: and this Head breaths out an *horrible* and *infectious ſtink.*

The third, his *endeavour to promote another such War* as *that* was: And this Head casteth out *Firebrands* and *Swords*, to *alarm* and *arm* all the *Malecontents* in the Nation, for a *resistance* of their Governours.

I know he doth not want his *lurking holes* and *Sulterfuges* to hide these *monstrous deformities*: but all in vain, *Treason will out*; and *Magna est veritas & prevalebit*.

The first Head breaths out a *contempt of the Clergie*; to which he makes way by a *Preamble* that will rather *aggravate* than *excuse* the Crime.

1. Our Author complains that his *honest design* (as he calls it) *to serve the Church hath been by many perverted*, p. 1. of the *Preface*: and *p.* 5. that some have endeavoured to set his *two Discourses* (viz. his *Argument for Bishops*, and his *Postscript*) *at variance*; *that the first was written to set off the latter with some advantage, and that the Author designed to get from the Argument, a more pardonable libertie of inveighing against the Churchmen in the Postscript.* Haberis confitentem Reum.

Doubtless the *Argument* did not effect that *grateful Acknowledgement* from the *Bishops* which he expected. They knew him perhaps to be a *mercenary man*, one that *had* or *would* write as much *falsely against them*, as he had

had done *truly for them*, if it might tend to his *better advantage*; and therefore he was reſolved to *pull down* what he had *built up*, and to ſeek more *beneficiary Patrons*.

Let us therefore conſider *who* they were that thus *reſented* and *complained* of Mr. *Hunt*, p. 5. *If it had been* (ſays he) *the conceit of the Popiſh Faction onely, and not alſo of thoſe Gentlemen whom I principally deſigned to ſerve, and in them the Church of* England, *&c.* Here it is as plain, as if it had been written with a *Sun-beam*, that he means the *Biſhops*, who were *moſtly*, if not *onely*, concerned in that *Argument*.

But how maliciouſly doth he ſuggeſt, that they were influenced by the *Popiſh Faction!* who, *p.* 6. (he ſays) *had corrupted ſome of our Church-men with Principles that ſubvert our Government, and betray the Rights of our people: They have debauched the manners of our Church-men, and leſſened their Athoritie and Eſteem with the people: The Order is inſlaved, by collation of Preferments upon leſs worthy men.* Qui beneficium accepit, libertatem amiſit.

Is not this a *ſtout Advocate* for *Biſhops*, that tells the world, that thoſe of *that Order* (indefinitely) are *contemptible ſlaves*, that have *ſold their Libertie for Preferment*; that they are *corrupted in their Principles*, to the *ſubver-*

ting of our Government, and *betraying the Rights of the people*; and ſo *debauched* in their *manners*, as that *they have leſſened their eſteem and authoritie with the people?* Is not this the old *Cenſor Morum*, or *Cato Redivivus?* And is it poſſible that a *learned man* ſhould thus *prevaricate* and *contradict* himſelf ſo groſly, as it were in the ſame breath?

Let not Mr. *Hunt* think to evade this, and ſay he ſpeaks this of our *younger Divines*, (of which we ſhall hear enough by and by, to make all good mens *ears tingle* at the horrid *falſehood* of it): he ſpeaks this of the *Order*, and particularly of the *dignified men* of that *Order*; of theſe it is that he ſpeaks, *p.* 7. (for he is not yet come to his diſtinction of *young* and *old Divines*; thoſe that are *inſlaved* by the *Preferment* they have, and thoſe that ſeek *Preferment* by *other arts*, of which anon) That *they lick up the Vomit of Popiſh Prieſts*; *and whatever is ſaid maliciouſly by them againſt the firſt Reformers*, is daily repeated by (now come in) *our young Clerks out of the Pulpit, with advantages of immodeſtie and indiſcretion.*

Now for our young Divines, whom (p.50. of the Poſtſcript) he calls *good-natur'd Gentlemen of the Clergie*, *Tom Triplet* is the onely young man that I knew, who was ſo laſht after he came from the Univerſity; Old *Gill*

never

never laid on ſo unmercifully, as this *Demagogue* doth, p. 9. *We have a ſort of young men that have left nothing behind them in the Univerſitie but the taint of a bad example, and brought no more Learning with them thence, than what ſerves to make them more aſſured and more remarkable Coxcombs; who will undertake to diſcourſe continually of the Intereſt of Religion, of which they have no manner of ſenſe; and of the Conſtitution of our Government, of which they are utterly ignorant.* P. 8. *Theſe, like Dotterels, Apes, and Parrets, who have no more underſtanding than thoſe Animals, are perpetually repeating any thing, though never ſo deſtructive to Church and State, that is ſuggeſted by any Popiſh Mercenarie Writer; if he hath but the cunning to beſtow an idle Complement upon the Church, or calls Rogue or Villain ſeemingly, or in pretence, for their ſakes,* (I hope our *Biſhops* have not *hired* any for *ſuch purpoſes*) *eſpecially if he can furniſh to their young Invention any Topicks of Raillerie againſt an Imaginary Presbytery, and againſt the Parliaments,* &c. *a very fair Capacitie and Recommendation this, as they imagine, to Preferment: Theſe are the men I confeſs for whoſe ſake I writ the Poſtſcript.* The *Preface* then it ſeems was writ for the *Biſhops.*

But this unmerciful man hath not yet done laſhing our young Divines. P. 10. *Too many*

of the young Clergie (says our *Aristarchus*) *do assist the Gentrie in their Loyal Debauches most scandalously, for the service of the Church, and maintaining the honour of their Order. These degenerate Levites are magnifying perpetually the priviledges of their Tribe, extolling their Order, yet in terms that disgrace it; and by their lives they vilifie it.* And now, like the *old Persecutors*, he hath *wearied himself*, to torment *poor Innocents*.

I hope our *young Divines* have yet so much of their *Grammar-learning*, (for the *Subject* is scarce capable of the more serious *Stelliteuticks* of the *University-studies*) as to return some *Reflections* on the *laborious Travels* of this infamous *Tom Coriat*, and make him feel what it is, *Ludere cum Sanctis*, in our Lawyers Latine, (*i. e.*) to *play with Edge-tools*. In the mean time, his *own folly* and *impietie* will *chastise* him, it being evident that Mr. *Hunt* deals with the *Bishops*, not onely as *men* use their *Dogs*, who feed them with *a bit and a knock*; but as *Butchers* are wont to use their *Hogs*, who *claw* them and *scrape* them a little, that they may with more conveniencie *cut their Throats*: He advanceth them as it were on a *Pinacle of the Temple*, that he may *cast them down* the more irrecoverably.

He tells us, *p.* 15. that *Calvin*, *Beza*, and *P. du Moulin*, Monsieur *Moyne*, *Claude*, and *de*

l'Angle

Angle highly *approved* of the *Order* and *Office* of *Biſhops*: And from *Grotius*, that *Non debent res bonæ damnari, quia ſunt qui iis abuntur: That good things ought not to be condemned, becauſe there are ſome that do abuſe them.* Yet *p.* 11. he tells them alſo, *the Apoſtolicalneſs of their Order will not ſecure it, if they do not fill up the dutie of their Office.* (*i.e.* if they do not fully *comply* with *his deſigne:*) And *p.* 12. he *remembers them that there are Churches of Chriſt that do make a ſhift without their Order, and Religion need not periſh though the Order fail.* So that it is plain, that by the word *Order* he means *Epiſcopacy*; and inſinuates, that it is a *needleſs thing*, it may be *grub'd up root and branch.* And is not this a *fair Apologie* for his *real intention* to *ſerve* the Biſhops?

P. 23. He complains that *too many eminent men in our Church are brought to a dead Neutralitie*; and thereby we are brought *to this paſs, That Religion it ſelf muſt be the devoted thing to the rage and folly of the Prieſts of that Religion:* (As if they had all conſpired to be *felo's de ſe*). And on this ground he proclaims his *Curſe ye Meroz* againſt them as *execrable Neuters.* P. 6. he ſays, *They have raiſed a bitter Zeal againſt that Separation which themſelves have contrived, fomented, and promoted: and it is brought to that paſs, that thoſe are accounted Church-Fanaticks, though Conformiſts, that*

that cannot contentedly see and endure the neerer approaches of ruine both of Church and State: These are their fear and their hate, the Sons of Anak, *the Giants of the Land, that they imagine so insuperable, that they are for making themselves a Captain, and returning back into* Egypt, *p.* 7. This he repeats, *p.* 46. where he endeavours to lay the sin of *Corah*, &c. upon *those* who in our days do most *faithfully adhere* to *Moses* and *Aaron*; and would excuse those, who having lost their *Corah* and other *renowned* Leaders, by an exemplary *Divine Judgement*, did the very next day murmur again against *Moses* and *Aaron*, falsely accusing them, who were the *meekest men upon Earth*, of *taking too much upon them*, (i. e.) of ruling by *an Arbitrary power*, and making themselves *absolute*: For so, *v.* 13. of that 16th Chapter, they accuse *Moses* of seeking to *make himself altogether a Prince*: and *v.* 14. he is accused of seeking to *put out the eyes of the People*, as Mr. *Hunt* also doth, *p.* 13. Postscr. *We are used* (saith he) *as* Sampson, *bound, and our eyes put out, and made sport for the Philistimes.* I fear Mr. *Hunt* will hardly have his eyes *opened*, till (as the *mole*) he comes to die. With such *murmurings* as these they so provoked *Moses*, that *the Lord was angry with him for their sakes*; and, as the Author of *Julian*'s life observed of the *Prayers* of the *Christians* in *Julians*

lians time, they *contrived* and *effected* his death: for he dyed in the Land of *Moab*, and was not to enter into *Canaan*.

Who they are that *murmur* at the Conduct of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, is too viſible to be denied (*viz.*) they that *accuſe them* of *Arbitrary Government*, that proclaim *themſelves* the *Holy People*; they who hearken to thoſe *falſe Spies* that *diſcourage* the people with ſtories of *Inſuperable evils*, of being *certainly miſerable*, and having a *War entailed on the Nation*, *fire* and *faggot*, and an *Inquiſition*, &c. For my part, I think theſe murmuring Prognoſticators are they who are for making *another Captain* in the room of *Corah*, and going back again to *Egypt*. And though we do not look on theſe as *the Sons of Anak*, invincible Giants; yet are they as the *Canaanites* were to *Iſrael*, *thorns in our ſides*.

They are ſtill troubling us with their *wiles* and their *lyes*, their *Aſſociations* and *Conſults*, their *Seditious Libels* and *Pamphlets*, ſuch as theſe of our two Authors; their *Doleman*, and *the Rights of the Kingdom*; Their *Plato Redivivus*, their *No Plot*, and Sermons of *Perſecution*, and *Daniel in the Den*; which, like the *Frogs* and *Plagues* of *Egypt*, are *croaking* in *every corner*, and infecting *every part* of the *three Nations*. They which cry up thoſe for the *godly Party*, and *devout Men*, that are inſpired

spired with *Scruples* from God himself, on purpose to put *a bar* against the *proceedings* of *Moses* and *Aaron*.

By such *men* and *means* (the truth is) we are brought into a *great strait*; we have a *deep Sea before us*, and *a howling Wilderness behind us*. And yet we murmur not; our Sins have deserved these things: Nor do we think of making *any other* Captains to our selves, than those whom God in *great mercy*, and by *many Miracles*, hath preserved and continued unto us. We are not for *Egypt* in your sence, nor for being reduced to a *State of Bondage* through the *Wilderness* of a *new War*: We are for *standing still*, keeping our places, and *doing* our duties, and *wait for the Salvation of God*. Though we were by the wickedness of *unreasonable* and *cruel men* deprived of our *Moses*, yet God hath sent us a *Josua*, and *with him are the Priests of the Lord, and the Ark of his Covenant*, to which, we doubt not, the swelling streams of *Jordan* will *give way*, and we shall yet pass to *Canaan* on dry land. Now let the *Reader* judge who do *abuse the Scripture to serve their turn*, as Mr. *Hunt* doth advise, p. 46.

P. 35. Mr. *Hunt* becomes an Advocate for a sort of *Gibeonites*, that they may have an act of *Comprehension*: and represents them as a very *harmless* and *friendly* people. *The Dissenters*

ſenters (ſays he) *have neither power nor will to deſtroy our RELIGION or Government; they are already of our Church, and it is expected that they ſhould be Petitioners to the Biſhops for their interceſſion towards the obtaining ſome indulgence in ſome little matters, that they may bring them into an intire communion with us.* And again, That *they are in profeſſion as Loyal as any that boaſt themſelves true Sons of the Church of* England, p. 19. But though ſome profeſs an *irreconcileable hatred*, even in their *pleas for Peace*; the great queſtion is, what their *practice is* and *hath been.*

Poſtſcr. *p.* 89. *Can any man imagine* (ſays he) *that any prejudice can accrew to the Church of* England, *if ſhe did enlarge her Communion by making the Conditions of it more eaſie?* And p. 90. *Is it fit that the Peace ſhould be hazarded, or the Nation put with reaſon or without in fear of it; or a Kingdom turned into a Shambles, for a Ceremony or a Ritual in our publick Worſhip?* &c. What is it the *Advocate* of *theſe men* pleads for? hath he *full inſtructions* from his *Clients?* doth he *know* their *minds*, and what will give them *ſatisfaction?* What he *contends* for, hath by *ſeveral men* of the Church been *granted* to them.

Why may not (ſay you) *ſtanding at the Sacrament be granted*— *And the ſigning with the Croſs in Baptiſm be diſpenſed with when deſired?*

When

When the Dean of St. *Pauls* and the Biſhop of *Cork* have made ſome *overtures* for *conceding* theſe things, Mr. *Baxter* anſwers the firſt, that he made them *ſibi & ſuis*, for the advantage of himſelf and others of his own Perſwaſion; and without taking any notice of them in the *latter*, anſwers his Diſcourſe with *ſcorn* and *contempt*.

But our *Liturgie* muſt alſo be altered for their ſakes: *p.* 91. you would have *more Offices, and thoſe we have, not ſo long*: though ſome complain they are *too many* and *too ſhort* already. And for the *Rubrick*, that muſt be *altered*, (not for the *preſent* onely) *as general ſcruples ſhall ariſe*; and that may be to the *worlds end*.

But to anſwer more particularly: you ſay the *Diſſenters* have *neither power nor will to deſtroy our Religion and Government*.

Anſw. When they were *leſs conſiderable* for their *numbers* than now, being (as you ſay) *four fifths of the Nation*, they had both *power* and *will* to effect both. What *hath been* done, *may be* done; and Mr. *Baxter* juſtly feared that they were *Nati ad bis perdendam Remp. Anglicanam*. That they are the *trading* and *wealthie part* of the Nation, is generally boaſted by *themſelves*.

We know Mr. *Baxter* urgeth in the name of his Brethren, *that there are many hainous*

ſins

ſins in our preſent Conſtitution that hinder their Conformitie; the taking off of which will be an acknowledgement of our guilt, and their juſtification. As for the prejudice that may accrue by altering the *conditions* of our *Communion*, you give us a fair warning, *p.* 93. telling us of the Church of *Rome*, that *their Doctrine of Comprehenſion is ſo large, that they deſtroy their Religion to increaſe the number of their Profeſſors:* by granting the *demands* of *ſome*, we ſhall but *encourage others*, and make them preſume to be Judges in their *caſe* and *quarrels.* And we have found by ſad experience the inconvenience of admitting ſuch as the *Country-conformiſt* and the *Author* of the *Life of* Julian into our *Communion.*

And you ſay, *p.* 35 and 36 of the *Preface*, *That the King and States of the Realm will never ſuffer ſo excellent an Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution as we enjoy, to be ſubverted: Tet the Diſſenters project* in Mr. *Humphrey's Half-ſheet*, intended to be preſented to the *Parliament*, doth certainly tend to her *deſtruction*, as hath been ſhewed *elſewhere.*

And if the *King* and *States* will not admit an *alteration*, you know the *Biſhops* cannot: and if the *States* will not, and the *Biſhops* cannot, ought not they that would make themſelves *wiſer than their Rulers* to *ſubmit*, (notwithſtanding their *ſcruples* againſt a *Ceremony*)

remony) rather than to *hazard* or *disturb* the *peace* of the Kingdom? And is it not an unjust complaint of yours, of *turning it into a Shambles for a Ceremony or a Ritual?* And to conlude, *if* (as you observe, *p.* 92.) *a discourse managed with almost irresistible Reason, Candour, Temper, and Address, be matter of exasperation, and they turn again, and be more confirmed in their separating way, what condescentions will reclaim them?*

P. 36. It is added—— *That absurd Opinion that* Dominium fundatur in gratia, *is charged on those that are for the Exclusion of the Duke: And they think that by pronouncing that absurd piece of Latine, they have at once put to silence and shame all reasons of Nature, Religion, and State that urge and require it.*

How we can maintain the *Negative* against the *Papists*, if we should *practise the same* as they do, on this Position, I cannot perceive: and therefore we must charge it *impartially* on *all* that *deserve* it. Bishop *Davenant* admits it for good Latine; and I think that you quarrel at the *words*, to avoid the *sence* of the *Thesis* which that *learned Bishop* maintained against the *Papists*, concluding, that the *Pope* could not challenge the power of *Deposing Kings* by any *Title* but that of *Antichrist*, whose Founder was *Hildebrand*, who like *Satan*, claimed a power to dispose of *all*

the

the Kingdoms of the World: And you your ſelf think that *our Saints* ought *not* to do ſo.

We come now to the *Poſtſcript*, which he hath told us was written for the ſake of our *young Divines*, thoſe *good-natur'd Gentlemen*, who doubtleſs will *return* his Civilities. His pretence is to anſwer ſome *Objections* that were made *againſt them*; but in truth, they are his own accuſations of them, which he *proſecutes* with all the *might* and *malice* he can, upon *this ground*, becauſe the *Biſhops* muſt be made *out* of them; and being *ſo bad* already, he hath foretold how much *worſe* it will be, when they ſell their *Liberty* for that *Preferment*.

It is ſaid then, *p.* 1. (our *Author* knows by *whom*) *That they affirm it to be in the power of a Prince by Divine Right to govern as he pleaſeth: That the power of the Laws is ſolely in him: That he may, if he pleaſe, uſe the conſent of Parliaments to aſſiſt the Reaſon of his Laws, when he ſhall give any; but it is a great condeſcention in Kings to give a Reaſon for what they do, and a diminution to their moſt unaccountable Prerogative: That they are for a Popiſh Succeſſor and no Parliament, and do as much as in them lies, give up our ancient Government and the Proteſtant Religion, the true Chriſtian Faith,*

to the absolute Will of a Popish Successor, giving him a Divine Right to extirpate Gods true Religion established among us by Law, and to evacuate our Government by his absolute pleasure.

Then, after a little *pause*, having almost run himself *out of breath* to tell the Nation these *Falshoods*, he thus inlargeth himself, *p.* 2. That *just now, when we are under the dread of a Popish Successor, some of our Clergie are illuminated into a Mysterie, That any Authoritie in the Government, not derived from the King, and that is not to yield to his absolute Will, was rebellious, and against the Divine Right and Authoritie of Kings in the establishment, against which no Usage or Prescription to the contrarie, or in abatement of it, is to be allowed. That all Rights are ambulatorie, and depend for their continuance on his pleasure: So that though the Reformation was made here by the Government established by Law, and hath acquired Civil Rights not to be altered but by the King and the three Estates, these men yet speak* (says our Lawyer) *as if they envied the Rights of their own Religion, and had a mind to reduce the Church back again into a state and condition of being persecuted, and designed that she should be stripped of her legal Immunities and Defensatives, and brought back to the deplorable helpless condition of Prayers and Tears, do utterly abandon and neglect all the provisions that Gods providence*

dence hath made for their protection: Nay, by this their new Hypotheſis they put it by Divine Right in the power of a Popiſh Succeſſour, when he pleaſeth, at once, by a ſingle indiſputable and irreſiſtable decree to deſtroy our Religion and Government.— That they believe no Plot but a Presbyterian Plot; for, of them they believe all ill, and call whom they pleaſe by that hated name, and boldly avow that Popery is more eligible than Presbytery, for by that they ſhall have greater Revenues, and more authority and rule over the Lay-men,

A *heavy Charge this,* (ſaith Mr. *Hunt*, p. 4.) *if true:* but he is *ſure it is imputable but to a few,* though he had told us in the *Preface*, that *many, too many were ſo corrupted:* and in many places he ſpeaks indefinitely of the *whole Order.* Now our *Lawyer* cannot but know, that it lies on him who hath *divulged* theſe *ſlanders,* to make *proof* of them, though he *pretends* they were *objected* by others. And all the *Conforming Clergy* are caſt under the ſuſpition of theſe *unſufferable Crimes.* If Mr. *Hunt* had any regard to the welfare of the *Church,* he would have *ſingled out* ſuch *Criminals,* and brought them to *ſhame* and *condign puniſhment,* there being *ſufficient* Laws for the puniſhment of them: and it being the intereſt of the *Magiſtrates* to free the *Church* and *State* from ſuch *peſts.* A *Judas* may *creep* in

among Chriſts own *Diſciples*, and a *Jonah* hide himſelf *in the bottom of the Ship*: But doubtleſs it is the *intereſt* of *all* that are in *ſuch a Ship*, to have them *diſcovered* and *caſt out*, that the *ſtorms* which threaten their *common deſtruction* may be allayed; eſpecially when (as Mr. *Hunt* ſays) they *come often under obſervation, frequent publick houſes, and talk loud.* He that doth not according to his *power* ſeek to *prevent* theſe *evils*, is *conſenting to*, and contracts the *guilt* of them. *Qui non vetat cum poteſt, jubet.*

But it conſiſts not with Mr. *Hunts* deſign to do the Church ſuch a real Service as to *free her* from ſuch *miſcreants*, but to involve the *whole Clergy* under the ſame *defamation*, that they may fall under the ſame *condemnation.* To this end, inſtead of *extenuating* the number of ſuch, he *aggravates* their *faults*; as,

1. Being ſuch as may *choak* the *Conſtancy*, *Reſolution* and *Zeal* of the *moſt addicted* to the Service of the *Church-men.*

2. That they are *acted* by the *Papiſts.*

3. That they are *agreeable to*, and indeed *make up* the moſt modern *Project* and *Scheme* of the *Popiſh Plot.* And

4. That *They deſerve to ſuffer as the betrayers of their Country, and to be proſecuted* with greater *ſhame* and *ignominy* than the *Traditores* were *by the Ancient Chriſtians.* And thus having

having breathed a while, he this *ill-natured Lawyer* begins to laſh our *good-natured Divines* again.

Upon ſuch ſcandalous and falſe Suggeſtions as theſe it is (ſaith he) *that the generality of the Clergie, who any way appear for a Chriſtian Subjection to the King, and a defence of the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church, are repreſented as Popiſhly affected, and betrayers of the True Proteſtant Religion and the Laws*, &c. I would have Mr. *Hunt* to anſwer his own Queſtion, p. 101. *What Fines and Impriſonments, Pillories and Scourgings do they deſerve, that perſecute the Church with revilings, when they themſelves are tolerated?*

It muſt be ſome *large Bribe*, or promiſe of the *publick Faith*, that thus ingageth *our Lawyer* to ſupport a *dying Cauſe*, and to take part as well with *Papiſts* as *Fanaticks*, to bring the *Engliſh Reformation* into contempt. For what *neerer way* is there to effect it, than firſt to repreſent thoſe who he ſays *eſtabliſhed our Religion* in Queen *Elizabeths* days, to be *aſſertors* and *promoters* of the Doctrine of *King-killing*?

Secondly to affirm, That in the days of King *Charles* the firſt, by preaching up the *Divinity of Kings*, and their *Abſolute power*, that *unnatural War* was begun?

And Thirdly, p. 7. That at his Majeſties

return, Fanaticism had expired, if some peevish old and stiff Church-men had not studied obstacles, and some craftie States-men had not projected that the continuance of the Schism would be of great service to destroy the Church.

And for the *present Age*, the *Clergy* great and small are all under the *same condemnation*; *Great Friends to Popery and Arbitrary Government*; such as *have no sense of Reason or Religion*; such as *will not when it is in their power prevent the ruine of their Nation, but are either accursed Neuters, or else wilful Actors in drawing down the Judgments of God upon us. And we are like to have no other; the Fountains being corrupted, can send forth nothing but unclean streams.* I pray God preserve the Honourable *Inns of Court* from such *Impostors* as Mr. *Hunt!*

Let not Mr. *Hunt* think to hide his *Malice* against the *Clergy*, by a *seeming commendation* of their Offices as *Apostolical*, when he adds, *that Religion may subsist without it*, and when by all manner of *evil arts* he seeks to *inrage the multitude* against them: Nor that he is to be taken as a Friend to their *persons* or *maintenance*, who labours so much to take away their *good names*, which, *like precious Oyntment*, I hope will send forth the *better savour*, for being thus *Chafed*.

Alas

Alas! we are not ſo *very Dolts*, but that we know ſuch *little Arts* to be the *daily practice* of every *Sycophant* and *Tale-bearer*, who being minded to *diſgrace* a perſon, uſeth the ſame method as Mr. *Hunt* doth toward the *Clergie*; firſt to *invent*, then to *ſpread abroad* and *aggravate* their ſuppoſed *faults* or *perſonal infirmities*, as pretended Friends. For thus they *inſinuate*: 'Do you know ſuch a perſon, and 'do you hear nothing concerning him? There 'is a ſtrong Report that he hath done ſuch and 'ſuch *evil things*, as will *ruine* him and all his 'Family. I am heartily ſorrie to hear ſuch 'things of him; but they cannot be hid or 'denied. I am much troubled to hear of 'ſuch groſs miſcarriages. He was in a very 'good Way, and had many advantages of be-'nefitting himſelf and others; but he hath a-'buſed them, and outlived them all; and his 'high Place and Calling doth but diſcover his 'nakedneſs the more, and will precipitate his 'ruine. It could hardly enter into my be-'lief, that a perſon that knows and profeſſeth 'better things, could ever have been guiltie of 'ſuch Crimes. And perhaps you will be as 'incredulous as I was; but they are too true. 'I perceive *it is not all gold that gliſters*. How 'a man may be deceived by an outward form 'and *fucus* of Honeſtie and Religion! I thank 'God I am undeceived my ſelf, and hope o-'thers

'thers will be ſo too. He is a very *Wolf in* '*Sheeps clothing*, a *Perſecutor* of the *Righteous*, 'who ſeemed a Preacher of Righteouſneſs, &c. 'Have no *fellowſhip* or *communion* with him: 'he is in the very *gall of bitterneſs*, and *the bond* '*of iniquity*.

If *ſuch Inſinuations* are *vile* and *odious* in a *vulgar mouth* againſt a *ſingle perſon*, how much more vile are they in the *printed Harangues* of a man of underſtanding, againſt the *whole Order* of the *Clergie*, with a malicious deſigne firſt to *diſgrace*, and then to *deſtroy* them!

Either this Gentleman is *well acquainted* with the *Univerſities*, and the *generality* of thoſe that from *thence* are admitted to the *Prieſthood*, or not. If he be not, he is *inexcuſable* for printing ſuch *Scandals* againſt them: if he be, he cannot but know that there was *never better Diſcipline* in the *Univerſity*, never *greater Circumſpection* uſed concerning ſuch as are admitted to *Holy Orders*, than now there is: and that if ever (*Clerus Anglicanus eſt ſtupor Mundi*) it was true that the *Engliſh Clergie* were the *admiration of the world*, it is ſo now. And therefore the Author of theſe *oblique Reflections* ſtrikes at all the *Heads* of the *Univerſities*, and at all the *Biſhops* in their *ſeveral Dioceſſes*, as if they were the *Cauſers* and *Promoters* of all theſe *Diſorders*.

I

I do therefore *appeal* firſt to his *own Conſcience*, whether the *far greater number*, both in the *Univerſitie* and in the *Clergie*, be not men of *Learning*, *Integrity*, *Piety*, and *Loyalty*; and then he ſhould in juſtice have given them ſuch a character as the *major part* doth deſerve: *Denominatio ſumitur à majore.* And then I appeal to the teſtimony of more *equal* and *indifferent men*: And ſuch a one I take Dr. *Burnet* to be, who for his *late Writings* had the *Thanks* of the Nation in a *Parliament-way*: and he deſerved it, if he had written nothing elſe but the *Teſtimony* which he gives of the *preſent Clergie.*

God hath not ſo left this Age and Church, but there is in it a great number in both the Holy Functions, who are perhaps as eminent in the exemplarineſs of their lives, and as diligent in their labours, as hath been in any one Church in any Age ſince Miracles ceaſed. The humility and ſtrictneſs of life in many of our Prelates, and ſome that were highly born, and yet have far outgone ſome others from whom more might have been expected, raiſeth them far above cenſure, though perhaps not above envie. And when ſuch think not the daily inſtructing their Neighbours a thing below them, but do it with as conſtant a care as if they were to earn their Bread by it: when they are ſo affable to the meaneſt Clergie-men that come to them; when they are nicely ſcrupu-

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lous about those whom they admit into Holy Orders, and so large in their Charities, that one would think they were furnished with some unseen ways; these things must needs raise great esteem for such Bishops, and seem to give some hopes of better times. Of all this I may be allowed to speak the more freely, since I am led to it by none of those Bribes either of Gratitude, or Fear, or Hope, which are wont to corrupt men to say what they do not think. But I were much to blame, if in a Work that may perhaps live some time in the world, I should onely find fault with what is amiss, and not also acknowledge what is so very commendable and praise-worthy. And when I look into the inferiour Clergie, there are, chiefly about this great City of London, *so many, so eminent, both for the strictness of their Lives, the constancie of their Labours, and plain way of Preaching, which is now perhaps brought to as great a perfection as ever was since men spoke as they received it immediately from the Holy Ghost; the great gentleness of their Deportment to such as differ from them, their mutual love and charity, and in a word, for all the qualities that can adorn Ministers or Christians; that if such a number of such men cannot prevail with this debauched Age, this one thing to me looks more dismally than all the other affrighting symptoms of our condition, That God having sent so many faithful Teachers, their labours are still so ineffectual.*

If

If any man think the Doctor ſpeaks *partially*, let him hear Mr. *Hunt*'s *own Teſtimonie*, p. 48. of the Poſtſcript: *Our Age is bleſſed with a Clergie renownedly learned and prudent.* And *p.* 105. he commends *our Church* for *the purity of her Doctrine, prudence of her Diſcipline, and her commendable, decent, and intelligible Devotion.* This Teſtimony is *true*, and therefore they who *contradict* it cannot be *too ſharply* rebuked. But what reaſon can be conceived for theſe *contradictory* proceedings?

This Gentleman (I conceive) might fancie himſelf to be *Chairman* of the Committee for *Trial of Miniſters*, and hath taken his *Meaſures* for proceeding in that caſe, from the practice of his *Predeceſſors*, who formed *Articles* of the like nature againſt the Clergie of that Age.

Imprimis, *For adhering to the King againſt his Parliament.*

Item, *For preaching a neceſſitie of obedience to the King as Supream, and thereby endeavouring to introduce an Arbitrary Power.*

Item, *For diſobeying the Votes and Ordinances of Parliament for demoliſhing of Superſtition, and keeping out of Popery.*

Item, *For defending Epiſcopacie and Liturgie; for not keeping the daies of Faſting and Humiliation appointed to crave a bleſſing on the*

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Parliaments Forces, and the days of Thanksgiving for defeating the Kings designs.

Item, *For preaching up Passive Obedience, when the Laws do allow us to make resistance in defence of our Religion, our Liberties, and Lives.*

Item, *For insufficiencie, not being able to pray* ex tempore, *or to preach without book.* Witness Dr. *Pocock*, Bishop *Sanderson*, &c.

Item, *For administring the Sacrament to all that desired it, and for using the Lords Prayer as a Charm.*

Such were the *Articles* by which a *great part* of that *Clergie* was destroyed, *of whom the world was not worthy.* With such our Gentleman is still in travel; but I hope his *labour will be in vain.*

Read some of those *Sermons* and *Treatises* which of late years have been published by such as you call *young Coxcombs*. Consider the strains of *Piety* and *Moderation*, of *Reason* and *Judgement*, of *Industrie* and *acquired Knowledge*; and I am confident you will find so little hopes to be believed by *others*, that you will see reason enough not to believe *your self.*

Let him talk of the *persecution* of *Julian*, and other *Pagans*; this which *our Author* promotes, *exceeds* them all. Others did but *Occidere Episcopos*, this man seeks *Occidere Episcopatum*;

copatum; and under a pretence of *pleading* and *praying* for them, he contrives how to *prey upon* them. What elſe meaneth that *inſinuation* which he quotes from *Grotius*, to gain it ſome *Authoritie*, having *bankrupted* his own? *Verſo in morem abuſu intermitti res ipſas non eſt infrequens*, p. 13. of *Preface*: which he applieth to the *Epiſcopal Office*. *Nomen & eminentia Epiſcopalis eorum culpa quibus obtigerat, omnem ſui perdiderat reverentiam, & in odium venerat plebis.*

I greatly wondered to hear that *Prayer* of his againſt *Sacriledge*, p. 103. *He that deſigns, contrives, or conſents to ſpoil the Church of any of her Endowments, may a ſecret Curſe waſte his ſubſtance; let his Children be Vagabonds, and beg their bread in deſolate places.* But when I call to mind Mr. *Humphries* project for *increaſing the number* of our *Biſhops*, whom he would have to be choſen by the *ſeveral Factions*, *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, *&c.* and theſe, whether *Lay-men*, or *Clergie-men*, to preſide over thoſe Parties, it remembred me of a paſſage of Mr. *Hunt*'s, *p.* 90. of his *Poſtſcript*, where he demands thus—— *Will it be any prejudice that the number of her Biſhops be increaſed, and that Suffragans be appointed and approved by the preſent Biſhops?* *&c.* So that when *other Trades* fail, Mr. *Hunt* as well as Mr. *Humphries* may have ſome hopes

hopes of being made *Suffragans* at leaſt. For the *Order of Epiſcopacie* may be *laid* by, as he intimates, and then ſome *Lay-ſuperintendents* may ſucceed, and enjoy their *Honours* and *Revenues*. Therefore to his *Curſe* I ſhall add my *Prayer* for a bleſſing on *Levi*, Deut. 33. 11. *Bleſs, Lord, his ſubſtance, and accept the work of his hands: ſmite through the Loins of them that riſe up againſt him, and of them that hate him, that they riſe not again.*

The ſecond Head contains a *juſtification* of the *late unnatural War*, p. 6. *It is difficult* (he ſaith) *to tell how that late unhappie War began, or how it came to iſſue ſo tragically in the death of the late King.* And being to ſpeak in ſo *difficult a caſe*, he enters his caution, p. 50. *I would not be perverſly underſtood by any man, as if I went about to juſtifie our late Wars.* But it will appear to be *Proteſtatio contra factum.*

P. 102. He ſays, *That War would have been impoſſible, if the Churchmen had not maintained the Doctrine that Monarchie was* Jure Divino, *in ſuch a ſence that made the King Abſolute.* This was a *fiction* of Mr. *Baxters*; and through the Loins of the *Clergie*, they ſtrike at the *King*, as if that glorious *Prince* intended *Tyranny*. But *that good Prince* was far from any deſign of ruling by an *Arbitrarie power*: he had no *Army*, nor *Mony* to raiſe one; but by the

the *contrivance* of *ſome men*, his *Father* was engaged in an *expenſive War* for the recoverie of the *Palatinate*, which exhauſted all the *Exchequer*, and reduced the *Royal Family* to great neceſſities; and then they failed in their *promiſed Supplies*, and left him to a *precarious way* of *ſubſiſting*, and to *ſtretch his Prerogative* for *the preſervation of himſelf* and *Family*. He would have parted with the half of his *Power* and *Prerogative*, as he often offered, to have *preſerved* or *reſtored peace* to his *Subjects*. But *when he ſpake to them of Peace, they made themſelves ready for Battle.*

But were there not ſome *other Doctrines* preached in thoſe days, which contributed *more* to the beginning of *that War*, than that of the *Divinity* of Kings? What think you of the Doctrine of the *lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance* then *preached* and *printed*, under the *ſame Arguments* as now it is, by Mr. *Marſhal*, *Burton*? &c. What think you of that Doctrine which (according to the *Jeſuits*) taught, *That the riſe and Original of Government is in the People*; and *that as they gave, ſo they might recall it as they ſaw cauſe*? You know who layeth down the *ſame Principle*, in a certain *Preface*—— *That Government is the perfect creature of men in Societie, made by pact and conſent, and not othorwiſe; moſt certainly not otherwiſe:* and *therefore moſt certainly ordainable by the*

whole Communitie, for the safety and preservation of the whole: P. 38. of *Preface.*

To what tended this other Doctrine, That the *Authoritie* of the King was in the two Houses, when they had frighted away his *Person?* That the King was *Singulis major*, but *Universis minor?* That *Episcopacy* was an *Antichristian Order*, and *to be stub'd up root and branch?* That the *King*, *Court*, and *Bishops*, were designing to bring in *Popery?* That our *Liturgy* was but the *Mass-book* translated?

These Doctrines, with such *Remonstrances*, *Votes* and *Ordinances*, began that *unhappy War*; The *Associations* made in *City* and *Country*, seizing the *Forts* and *Magazines* and *Royal Navy*, and answering all his *Messages of Peace* with *reproaches* of his *Male-administrations*: This is that which you call the *English Loyalty.* When they sent out *Armies* to *fight* him, when they had him *Prisoner*, and voted *no more Addresses*, they were, if you will believe *them*, or Mr. *Hunt*, his Majesties *most Humble and Loyal Subjects* still. Such as these I could as easily prove to be the *Doctrines* of *those times*, as that they are the *Opinions* and *Practices* of *too many* in *these our days*, though most *absurd* and *dangerous*, as they are now published by *too many* besides *our two Authors.*

P. 20.

P. 20. *Pref. There is little reaſon to charge the guilt of the unexpiable Murther of our late Excellent King-- upon Presbyterie, which was not thought of here in* England *till the War was begun.* And p. 21. Sure *this Gentleman* hath *read very little*, or *diſſembleth very much.* Mr. *Cambden* in the Life of *Queen Elizabeth* is full of the *Projects* and *Practices* of ſuch as planted the *Geneva*-Diſcipline here in *England*; what *troubles* they occaſioned to the *Government* both in *Church* and *State*, and what *deſerved puniſhments* ſome of them received, as *Penry* and *Udal*, &c. It is not poſſible but *this Gentleman* hath *heard of*, if not *read* the things controverted between Archbiſhop *Whitgift* and *T. C.* between the judicious *Hooker* and Mr. *Travers*, and Biſhop *Bilſons dangerous Poſitions.* P. 21. He jumps with Mr. *Baxter* in his Opinion, *That the Parliament in the courſe of the War, which was managed* (ſays he) *by ſuch means and meaſures as were neceſſary and poſſible, in their diſtreſs pray'd aid of the Scottiſh Nation: They refuſed them any aſſiſtance, except they would enter into their Covenant--- AND AFTER THE COVENANT WAS THUS IMPOSED, THEY STILL RETAINED THE ENGLISH LOYALTY, remonſtrated againſt the Kings feared Murther, and declared out of their Pulpits againſt the Actors of that*

deteſtable Tragedy. If they did *preach againſt* his Murther out of *Loyalty* and *Conſcience*, why had they not *preached againſt Fighting*, and *purſuing him with fire and ſword*, where he might have *fallen* as one of his Subjects? Why not againſt his *Impriſonment*? there *the Covenanters* were *the Loyal Party, the ROYALISTS were the REBELS; and the guilt to be ſure* (ſays he) *belongs to the Rebel-ſide*, p. 21.

And as it was in the beginning of *that War*, ſo it is now, and by *our Authors principles* ſo it will *be ever:* they that with their lives and fortunes *adhere* to their *Prince*, though he be neither *Apoſtate* or *Tyrant*, are pronounced *Rebels*; And they who *fight againſt him*, on any pretence whatſoever, are the true *Engliſh Loyaliſts*. I would not have them called the *true Proteſtants*, leſt the *Papiſts* ſhould *inſult* over them, and prove themſelves *more Loyal* Subjects. It is another very memorable ſpeech of Mr. *Hunt's*, p. 171. Speaking of the *Bill of Excluſion: If this Bill do not paſs, they will take him for a wicked King too, and will ſay he hath no lawful Iſſue to ſucceed him, for his own Sins; and many other remarks of wickedneſs they will make upon him.* What he means by the word *too*, may be explained by the *I*, and *we* which he ſpeaks of juſt before, and now of others *too*, that will count the King wicked, &c. It

It is ſomewhat obſcure alſo to gueſs what he means, when he ſays, *the paſſing of the Bill is the onely means of the Kings Salvation from their traiterous deſigns*; and again, p. 172. *If he will follow the Counſel of that excellent Bill, he may live long, and ſee good days.* As if he could not be *ſafe* without it. Of ſuch *obſcure* places, we may conjecture by thoſe other *plain* ones, wherein he hath manifeſted how *great reſpect* he hath for *his Majeſty* and the *Royal Family*. Nor indeed can we expect *better things* from a *Republican*, who ſpeaking of our *Kings Father* as he calls him (*ſans* Ceremony) makes *him* and his *Party* the *Delinquents*, and upbraids him with all the *Calamities* which a *Rebellious people* brought upon him: and adds. p. 55. *If there were twenty* Trojans *derived from one Stock, that had reigned in an uninterrupted Succeſſion, Two immediate Succeſſors that ſhould have their Reigns ſucceſſively attended with civil Wars, were enough to efface their own, and the glories and merits of ſuch Anceſtors.* And ſo if *another Rebellion* ſhould ſucceed, (which God forbid) farewel to *the glorious Family of the* Stuarts. *For notwithſtanding the glories of that great Prince, his unhappy death, and the admired devotions of the* εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, *the ſtories of the Calamities of his people* (all his three Kingdoms involved in *War during his Reign*) (which is a *lye* by thirteen years) *and the re-*

membrance of them will be with ſome men, (of the ſame *bran* with Mr. *Hunt*, i.e. *not very loyal*) *a ſtain and a diminution of the glories of the Royal Family*, p. 53. Although others, *more loyal*, do think that it added *another Crown* to them, more glorious than the *other three*, (*i. e.*) the Crown of *Martyrdom*. *In Princes* (ſays Mr. *Hunt*) *their Calamities are reckoned among the abatements of their Honour; and meer Misfortunes are Diſgraces, and have the ſame influence on the minds of the common people* (as they have on Mr. *Hunt*'s) *as real faults, and male adminiſtrations.*

So that the *Royal Martyr*, who ſuffered ſo many *barbarous Indignities* with *invincible patience* and *Chriſtian fortitude*, muſt ſuffer *another Martyrdom* in his *Reputation*; and the *Regicides* be *renowned* (becauſe of their *ſucceſs*) as men of *real Vertues*, and *Patriots of their Country.*

Careat ſucceſſibus Opto,
Quiſquis ab eventu facta nefanda putat.

I cannot perceive any inſtance of the *leaſt reſpect* to the *Royal Family*, except that *deference* which he beſtows on Dr. *Titus Oates* and Captain *Bedlow*, the Kings Evidence; on whom he writes a full Panegery, *p.* 24, 25. which he thus concludes: *The undoubted truth*

of

of their Evidence hath given them the civil reſpect of all honeſt men, and will give the Doctor the publick honours of the Nation in due time. For my part, I live at too great a diſtance from *ſuch men*, to ken them aright; and I would commend Mr. *Hunt*'s own Rule to them that know their converſation, whereby to judge of them, *p.* 52. of the *Preface*: *That their vertue of Loyalty will bear the ſame proportion as their other vertues do to the Canon of Morality.*

To this Head of *juſtifying the former War*, belongs his *Apologie* for ſuch as were then called *Presbyterians*; which he (as a *faithful Advocate* and *Orator*) ſtill proſecutes.

P. 13. Pref. *Our old Puritans and late Diſſenters* (he excepts onely the *Fools* and *Knaves* ſent among them, and *ſpirited* by the *Roman Prieſts*) *have not diſliked the Epiſcopal Government.* If all the *Covenanters* and *others* that *diſliked* the *Epiſcopal Government* were *Fools* and *Knaves ſpirited* by the *Romiſh Prieſts*, we have great reaſon to be jealous of the *preſent Diſſenters* as ſuch; and the rather, becauſe you tell us, *p.* 19. of *a vile ſort of Presbyterians in Scotland*, (with whom *ſome* in *England* do *conſpire*) who have *deſervedly put that name under eternal infamie by their turbulent and contumacious carriage againſt the Kingly Authority.*

Yet even for *these*, this Gentleman makes an *Apologie*. First, in respect of their *scrupulositie*, p. 86. *Though the scruples of Nonconformists* be as he thinks *groundless* and *unreasonable*, and often *moves his passion* against them, *yet upon consideration he thinks their scrupulosity may be of God, and that some men are by him framed to it.* Take courage then, *all you men of Scruples*, the *Good Old Cause* is still *Gods Cause: he hath provided this your scrupulosity* (saith this *Stoick*) *as a bar and obstacle in the natures and complexions of* DEVOUT MEN *against any Innovations whatsoever, that dangerous ones may not steal upon the Church, for the better maintaining the simplicity and purity of the Christian Religion and Worship.* Bene dixisti, Thoma.

But thus the *Predestinated Thief* could plead for himself, that he was born under the *thievish Planet* Mercury, and *could not* resist his fate: *Steal* he *must*, and *repent* of it he *could not*, nor be *sorry* for his *fault*, though he were to be *hanged* for it: This *pilfering humour* was in his *nature* from the *God of Nature*, and *who hath resisted his Will?* The same Argument will the *lascivious man*, who was born under the Planet of *Venus*, and the *Rebel* and *Murtherer*, who was born under *Mars*, use in their defence, as the *scrupulous* and *obstinate*, who were born under *Saturn*. And so *any*

vice

vice may be *defended*, and the *whole blame* transferred on *God*, who ſent them into the world with *ſuch inclinations*.

But on *ſecond conſiderations*, our *Author* might have told them that theſe *wicked diſpoſitions* were the effects of the *corruption of their natures*, contracted and propagated by *original ſin*; and that there is yet ſo much *light from Nature*, but much more from the *Grace of God*, as to *diſcover*, and *aſſiſt* them in the *correction* of theſe *unreaſonable* and *groundleſs affections* and *paſſions*: and not to *encourage* them in them, by telling them they are *from God*, and infuſed into *devout men, that they may put a bar to ſuch dangerous Innovations that are ſtealing on the Church, and for the maintenance of the ſimplicity and purity of the Chriſtian Religion and Worſhip*. This is a *New Plea* to encourage them to a *New Rebellion*, as well as to *juſtifie the Old*. And we know what *ſlender pretences* ſcrupulous and obſtinate perſons are wont to lay hold on, to *defend themſelves* in *very unlawful practices*, in ſuch caſes as are *confeſſedly unreaſonable* and *dangerous*, and to which they have a *natural inclination*. The *Vulgar* need a *Curb* to reſtrain them, and not a *Spur* to provoke and haſte them on.

When therefore you ask (p. 86.) *What affrightment all this while, either to Church or State,*

State, from this weak and pitiful ſcrupuloſity? Where lies the Treaſon or Sacriledge? Let *our Author* conſult the Hiſtory of the *late War*, and *Experience* (which ſome ſay is) *the Miſtriß of Fools*, may reſolve him. *It is no more agreeable to a ſcrupulous man about a Ceremony of the Church, to depoſe and murder his lawful Prince, than for a man of a nice Conſcience to be impiouſly wicked*, p. 33. Pref. Yet Mr. *Baxter* and others will tell you, that the *greateſt Impieties* and *Outrages* have been committed by ſuch men as pretended *niceneſs* and *ſcruples of Conſcience* for their *juſtification*. And who they were that would *ſtrain at Gnats and ſwallow Camels*, our *Saviour* told us long ſince.

But to return. Upon this very Ground of a *natural complexion*, &c. p. 19. of the *Preface*, he would excuſe *a vile ſort of Presbyterians in Scotland* (as he calls them) who have *deſervedly put that name under eternal infamy, by their turbulent and contumacious carriage againſt the Kingly Authority*. Which yet (he there ſays) *is not imputable ſo much to Presbytery, as to the barbarous Manners and rough Genius of that Nation*. And is it not *ſtrange*, that neither the *Learning* and *Knowledge* of *that Nation*, which afforded *ſome men*, of *all Ages*, of great *excellency*, and which uſually (*emollit mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros*) doth *correct* the *brutiſh diſpoſitions* of men; nor the *power of Godlineſs*

lineſs and *purity of Doctrine and Worſhip*, to which, eſpecially in *latter times*, they pretended *beyond all other Nations*, and was *propoſed* by them, and *accepted* by *ſome* of our *own Nation*, as the *great* Rule next to (if not above) the *Word of God*, for our *Reformation*; could ſo far *reform them*, as to teach them *Obedience* to their *lawful Princes*, but they muſt ſtill remain *infamous*, (as our *Author* obſerves) for *Diſloyalty* and a *barbarous Treatment* of their Kings? And is it not yet *more ſtrange*, that *we*, who are of a *better Genius*, ſhould learn of *them*, who (as you note) do *boaſt of one hundred and fifty Kings in ſucceſſion in that Kingdom*. (and you certainly aver) that they really *impriſoned*, *depoſed*, and *murdered fifty* at leaſt, before the time of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, that ſuch an *Original* ſhould be propoſed to the *Engliſh Nation*, that *their Chronicles* may alſo be *defiled* with the *blood* of their *Kings*?

As for what you ſay (*p.* 20. *Pref.*) concerning the *Queen of Scots*, *that her proſecution was promoted by the Engliſh Biſhops*; which *putrid Vomit* the Author of *Julian's Life licked up*, and hath *diſgorged* again, to make the whole Nation *ſtink*: I have ſaid enough to *vindicate* the *Biſhops* from that *foul Aſperſion*. It being *deſigned* by the Wiſdom of the *Parliament*, and by them *juſtified*, for many *Treaſonable actions* and *Inſurrections* by her

her practised and contrived; for which she was *legally condemned*, not as a *Queen*, nor as a *Popish Successour*, much less as *our Queen*; but as a *professed Enemy* to her Majestie that *then* happily reigned over us; from whom she *actually claimed* the *Crown*, and endeavoured by *force* to *usurp* it. And she having first *resigned* her *Crown*, and came hither for *protection*, which she forfeited by her frequent practices of *Treason*, was tried and condemned as the *Wife* of a *Subject of this Land*. And *happie* had it been for *this Nation*, if they had never learnt any other *Regicide* than this *Fictitious one* wherewith the *Bishops* are chiefly charged, for no other reason that I can divine, but because they will not give consent to *another more unexcusable action* now.

This *rash Assertion* of yours destroys all that *laudible endeavour* which you have *worthily attempted* for the vindication of our Bishops: in *other matters*, this is a *Scandalum Magnatum with a witness*; and I hope you have yet so much *ingenuity*, as to put your self to the *voluntarie* Penance of a *Recantation*, the slander being so *notoriously false*. And I am perswaded that the *convictions* of your *Conscience* will not give you any rest, till you have made them as *publick satisfaction* as the *injury* you have done them is.

I proceed now to the third Head of his Dis-

Diſcourſe, which leads me to ſhew the *endeavours uſed* to engage the Nation in a *ſecond unnatural War:* And I ſhall begin with that Speech of this Author, p. 52. of Poſtſcript. *The panick fear of the change of the Government that this Doctrine* (of the *Divinitie* of Kings) *occaſioned, and the diviſions it made among us, was the principal cauſe of the late War.* And p. 102. *That War would have been impoſſible, if the Church-men had not maintained the Doctrine, that Monarchie was* Jure Divino *in ſuch a ſence as made the King abſolute: and they and the Church in conſequence periſhed by it.*

Now you have heard already how loudly *the young Divines* are *accuſed* for preaching *this Doctrine.* And how *falſe* ſoever the *Accuſation* be, the Nation is called to *ſtand upon her guard,* and the *Royal Standard* is feigned to be ſet up; and perhaps the *Seditious partie* are really *liſted* and *aſſociated.* And every man is *called* on to declare for *what Partie* he will *engage:* The *Neuters* are *accurſed*; the *Aſſociators* declared to be, ſuch as *retain the old Engliſh Loyaltie,* after the taking of the *Covenant*; and all that oppoſe theſe, *betrayers* of their *Religion,* their *Countrie*, and the *Laws*; yea, they are told, p. 149. that they *ought not to ſubject the Profeſſors of the true Religion again,* (as if they had *once* done it already) *to Slaughters, Fire, Faggots, Tortures, Inquiſitions,*

tions, and *Massacres:* When the *Bishops* and *Loyal partie* were they who suffer'd *these*, or *as great* tortures as these, for their *Religion* and *Loyaltie*, from the *irreligious* and Rebel-partie.

But to *undeceive* the *multitude*, let them consider by what *arts* a *new War* is contrived. As,

1. By *slandering* all such as oppose the *Association*, and *popular torrent* of *Sedition* and *Rebellion:* as, p. 27. of Preface, that *the number of Addressers may be reduced to the Duke's Pensioners and Creatures. That the Addresses have been obtained by application; and the design was to make voices for the discontinuance of Parliaments, and for a Popish Successor.* That such as write for the *established Government* and *Religion*, are *a hired sort of Scaramouchy Zanies, Merry Andrews*, and *Jack Puddings*. P. 12. and impeacheth a *Secretary of State* as a *Traytor*; not considering that *one* such as *John Milton*, is the chief *Engineer* and *encourager* of all *Rebellion* and *Treason.*

2. By divulging abroad, p. 22. *That the Nation begins to grow impatient by the delays of publick justice against the Popish Plot:* though it be well known at *whose door* that lies. *That the dissolution of Parliaments gives us cause to fear that the King hath no more business for Parliaments*, ibid. and p. 17.

3. By animating the *multitude* to *perplex* his

his Majeſty with *new Addreſſes*; telling them, p. 30. of Preface, *So ſtrong is the tye of duty upon him from his Office, to prevent publick Calamities, as no reſpect whatſoever, no not of the Right Line, can diſcharge: nor will he himſelf ever think,* if *DULY ADDRESSED, that it can.* And p. 34. *At this time, if ever, the APPLICATIONS of an Active Prudence are required from all honeſt men.* And he himſelf hath given them a *Precedent*, in that *Application* which he intended it ſeems for the *Seditious rabble*— *We will not entail a War upon the Nation, no not for the ſake and intereſt of the Glorious Family of the* STUARTS.

4. By acquainting the *Malecontents* that their *number* is *four fifths* of the *Nation, who are ſuch as love and adhere to our Government and Religion*; though they are *rendred ſuſpected* of *deſtroying again* the *Engliſh Monarch and the Proteſtant Religion*, p. 10. of Poſtſcript. And therefore he doth but *profane* the Name of *God*, p. 95. when he ſays, *God be thanked they* (the *Diſſenters*, who are *imagined very numerous*) *neither make our Grand-Jury-men, nor the Common-halls of the City for chooſing the Lord Mayors or Sheriffs.*

5. By *Reprinting* ſuch Books as were written in *defence* of the *late War*, and *improving* the *Arguments for that Rebellion.*

6. By his pleading for *Comprehenſion* and *Indul-*

Indulgence, which p. 98. he says *about ten years since was designed to slight the Churches Works, and demolish her by a general Indulgence and Toleration; and now they intend to destroy her Garison, those that can and will defend her against Popery.*

7. By publishing it *as an undoubted truth, and evident in it self, That the Succession to the Crown is the people Rights*, p. 201.

8. By making *large Apologies* in behalf of *those men* of whom he speaks, p. 96. *What animations did their people receive, to defie the Church and her Authoritie, when their Preachers despised Fines and Imprisonment, to their seeming out of pure zeal against her Order!* And yet he adds, —*It is well known, several of them were in Pension, and no men have been better received by the Duke than* J. J. J. O. E. B. *and* W. P. *&c. Ringleaders of the Separation.* And again, p. 98. *Consider how the Church of* England *is used, which is truly the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion.*

And it is a *pitiful evasion*, to say that these *Fanaticks* are *acted by the Papists*; or if it were true, they were much *more intolerable* for that reason: and therefore I do with all my heart agree to *your Method* for rooting out the *Popish Plot*, prescribed p. 99. *By suppressing that contumacie that is grown so rife in the Dissenters against the Church of* England, *by put-*

putting the revilers of her Eſtabliſhment and Order under the ſevereſt penalties. But then, *Caveat Author.*

To conclude, we are certainly, as Mr. *Hunt* calls us, *a fooliſh people and unwiſe, a ſtupid and perverſe Generation,* if we ſhall *reject* that *gracious* and *gentle Government* whereby God hath hitherto *led* and *preſerved us* a *flock*, *by the hands of* Moſes *and* Aaron; and exchange for a *Saturn*, or a *Moloch*, that will devour *their own Children*, and make them *paſs through the fire* at their pleaſure. But,

From all ſuch Men-monſters; from all Sedition, Perjurie, Conſpiracie, and Rebellion; from all falſe Doctrine, Hereſie, and Schiſm; from hardneſs of Heart, and contempt of thy Word and Commandments,

Good Lord deliver us.

THE Life of Julian INLARGED.

His Birth and Parentage.

JULIAN was Born at *Bizantium*, now called *Constantinople*. His Fathers Name was *Constantius*, Brother to *Constantine* the *Great*. His Mothers Name was *Basilina*, of a very ancient and Noble Family among the *Romans*. Now although the *Empire* was intirely devolved on *Constantius* (the Second Son of *Constantine*) his two Brothers *Constantine* and *Constans* being dead; yet for securing the *Empire* to *himself*, having a jealous Spirit, he contrived the *death* of his *neareſt Kindred*, *viz.* *Conſtantius* Father of our *Julian*, *Anniballianus*, and *Dalmatius* Cæſar: which *our Author* would impute to the *outrages* of the *Souldiery*; forgetting what he tells his Reader, p. 29. *That the ſlaughter of his Kindred was one of thoſe three*

three things whereof Conſtantius *repented him at his death.* For which he rightly quoteth *Naz. Orat. in laudem Athanaſii, p.* 389.

How *Julian* and *Gallus* his Elder Brother eſcaped that Maſſacre, our *Author* leaves uncertain: for having ſaid that *Gallus* being very ſick, the *Souldiers* concluded that the diſeaſe would kill him, and ſave *them* the labour; and that they thought not *Julian* dangerous, being but five years old: yet he would have it attributed to *Conſtantius* the Emperor, who, for ought we read, gave no Commiſſion to *ſpare* them; and had they then dyed, would doubtleſs have found cauſe to repent of *their* deaths, as well as of the *reſt* of his *Kindred.*

That *Conſtantius* ſhewed kindneſs to his *two Couſins* after the Death of their *Father* and *Unkles*, was no more than *Nature*, and eſpecially the *Religion* he profeſſed, required of him: nor could all his kindneſs to the *Children*, expiate his Cruelty to their *Father*. But that he ſhould cauſe *Gallus* to be ſlain, who is noted, *p.* 3. to have been *ſincerely pious*, and that after he had given him his * *Siſter* in Marriage, and declared him *Cæſar*, and found him a Man of *Perſonal valour* and *good Conduct* and *Succeſs*, (I may ſay of it as our *Author* doth) it was a *raſh act*: and yet if it be true that he deſigned to Invade the *Empire*, not content with the Title and Au-

*Conſtantina.

thority of *Cæsar*, it was more excusable than the Death of his other Kindred, who were never reported to design any such thing.

It had been most commendable in *Constantius*, if, as he provided a *Royal Palace* for the Education of his *Kinsmen*, so being himself a *Christian Emperour*, he had more carefully provided for their *Christian Education*. *That Age* had as many *Learned Bishops*, well skilled in all *Humane Literature*, as *any one* before or since; and yet *Constantius* permitted the *Seeds* of *Superstition* and *Paganism* to be sown in that *rank Soyl*, as soon as those of *Christianity*: and 'tis no wonder if our *corrupt nature*, being left at liberty, prefer *that Religion* which is *accommodated* to its *lusts*, to that which especially tends to the *suppressing* and *extirpation* of them. And if *Corn* and *Weeds* be permitted to grow together in a fertile ground, it is no wonder to see the *weeds* to *outgrow* the *Corn*.

His Education.

AS soon as he was Seven years old, he was committed to the Tuition of *Mardonius* an *Eunuch*, by whom he was put to learn *Grammar* and *Rhetorick*, in the publick Schools of *Constantinople*. *Nicocles* a *Lacedemonian* taught him Grammar; and the famous Turn-coat *Ecebolius*

Ecebolius taught him Rhetorick. *Libanius* the Heathen Philoſopher had a famous School at that time in *Conſtantinople*, whoſe Works *Julian* procured, and read with great delight: and in a little time becomes familiarly acquainted with him, often frequenting his School; and, as the manner of the *Grecian* Scholars was, he adventured to declaim publickly againſt the Chriſtians, and (*p.* 4.) our *Author* ſays *he would diſpute hard with his Brother in favour of the Heathen, pretending that he only tryed how he could hold the weaker ſide of a Queſtion.*

He profited much in that ſort of Philoſophy which *Iamblicus* taught, being a mixture of the Opinions of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, of which he calls himſelf a *zealot*; and ſhewed great honour and kindneſs to *Iamblicus*. Theſe were the Maſters which *Mardonius* his Tutor procured for him, and were the *Corruptors* of his *Youth:* for being of a light and deſultory Wit, and withal very induſtrious and inquiſitive after knowledge, he haſtily imbibed ſuch *Principles* as his Tutors inſtilled.

Τῶν Πλάτωνος & Ἀριστοτέλους ζηλωτὴν ἑαυτὸν ἀπεφήνατο.

He tells us himſelf in his *Miſopogon* what he learnt under this *Mardonius*; which he relates to the *Athenians*. The Names of *Plato*, *Socrates*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Theophraſtus*, are much talked of with *deriſion*. *This old Man* (Mar-

donius) *having fooliſhly* (he ſpeaks by *Irony*) *obſerved their dictates, perſwaded me, being a Boy deſirous to learn, that if I would tread in their paths, I ſhould be better, not onely than other men, but than my ſelf: And I* (for what could I do elſe?) *obeying my old Tutor, cannot change any thing, though I deſire it never ſo much. And I accuſe my ſelf that I did open a more free admiſſion to all the Vices of that old Man.* For thus he taught me out of *Plato: That Man is worthy of Honour who offends not; but he that deters others from offending, is worthy of more than double Honour: The firſt is profitable to himſelf alone, the others to many: that brings the Delinquent before the Magiſtrates; and if he alſo joyn in puniſhing the injurious, this is a noble and complete Citizen, and may be called a Conquerour in the conflict of Vertue.* This and ſome other *Moral Vertues* wherein *Julian* perceived the generality of *Chriſtians* to be defective as to their practice, raiſed in him a great opinion of his *Pagan Tutors*; and from Lectures of *Morality*, he proceeds to learn more *curious Arts*. For,

After this, *Maximus* an *Epheſian Philoſopher* (who was by *Valentinian* put to death for his *Impoſtures* and *Magical Arts*) taught *Julian* to caſt *Nativities*, and make *Divinations*; and initiated him to the Myſteries of *Magick*. And as if he had not enough of thoſe *deviliſhs Arts*, he

he ſollicites a Journey to *Athens*, pretending to ſee *Greece*, and to be acquainted with their Schools: where he grew into a familiar acquaintance with the beſt of the *Heathen Philoſophers* of that Age, which abounded with many that were excellent Moraliſts. A Heathen Writer (*Ammianus Marcell.* l. 22. c. 3.) ſays, that *Julian from the very firſt inſtructions of his childhood was given to the Worſhip of the Heathen Gods and Idols.* It is no wonder, if having ſuch *Tutors*, he became zealouſly affected to the ſame.

This was his ſtudy while his Brother *Gallus* was living: and as ſoon as he underſtood of his death, which was an unnatural, barbarous action, and raiſed *great prejudices* againſt the *Chriſtian Religion*, he was greatly diſcontented, and diligently inquired by thoſe who were skilled in *Curious arts* what would become of him. Twenty years together he diſſembled himſelf to be a *Chriſtian*, and attained to great knowledge in that Religion; but rather, that he might know how to oppoſe it: for, as St. *Auguſtine* obſerves, (l. 5. c. 21. *De Civ. Dei*) Cujus egregiam indolem decipit amore dominandi ſacrilega & deteſtanda curioſitas; *A ſacrilegious and accurſed Curioſitie perverted his excellent wit.* However, his proficiency in *Chriſtianity* preferred him to be a *Reader* of the *Holy Scriptures* to

the people; and thoſe Arguments of his which were learnedly and ſatisfactorily anſwered by St. *Cyril* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, do demonſtrate his Knowledge both of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, for which he was admitted into *Holy Orders*. Now how could *Conſtantius* expect but that *Julian* being put to ſuch *Nurſes*, he ſhould *ſuck in* ſuch *milk* as they yielded? *Neglectis urenda filex innaſcitur agris.*

His Apoſtacie is imputed to theſe three cauſes.

Firſt, To the *levitie* of his Nature.

Secondly, To his love of *Magical Arts.*

Thirdly, To his *ambition* of the *Empire.*

When *Gallus* was *put to death*, the *Emperour* had ſuch informations that *Julian* conſpired alſo againſt him, that he reſolved to *put him to death alſo:* but by the intercеſſion of *Euſebia* the Empreſs, he was ſent for to appear at Court, and by her interceſſion and favour, was not only *preſerved*, but within a ſhort time *declared Cæſar:* and the *Emperor*, to ingratiate him the more, gave him his Siſter *Helena* to Wife.

Before we give an account of his *Actions while he was* Cæſar, it will be convenient to give the Reader

A Character of his Perſon and Diſpoſition.

HE was of a middle Stature, his Hair ſoft, and hanged down; his Beard long and ſharp; a full and rolling Eye; comely Eyebrows, and a ſtreight Noſe; his Mouth ſomewhat large; his Under-lip ſeemed divided; his Neck fat; his Shoulders broad and large; and from the Head to the Foot, his Members were proportionable and well joyned: ſo that he was made both for *Strength* and *Activitie*.

Gregory Nazianzene, who knew him at *Athens*, gives this deſcription of him: That his Neck inclined forward, his Shoulders often in motion; that he had a wandring Eye, and furious Aſpect; his Feet unſtable; his Noſe and Lineaments of his Face were ridiculous, and ſignified ſcornfulneſs; in his Apparel ſordid; his Laughter was loud and frequent; his Grants and Denials were without reaſon; his Speech ſlow and interrupted; his Queſtions haſtie and imprudent, and his Anſwers no better; one following upon another without Gavitie, good Order, or Method. Upon conſideration of this *Phyſiognomie*, the Biſhop thus

ex-

exclaims: *What a miſchief doth the* Roman *Empire nouriſh! for the inconſiſtencie both of his Manners and Behaviour, and the great commotion of his Mind, made me to give this prediction of him; and as I foretold of him to thoſe that were with me before he had acted any thing, ſo I found him to be by his Actions afterward: and I wiſh I had been in this a falſe Prophet, for that were better than that ſuch a Monſter ſhould exiſt, and fill the World with ſuch evils as never were in any other Age, though there were many Deluges, Conflagrations, Earthquakes, and Cruel men, and prodigious Beaſts of divers kinds.*

Some Writers give him a *different Character* from others: That in Courteſie and Clemencie he was comparable with *Titus*; and as much exceeded his Brother *Gallus* in thoſe virtues, as *Titus* exceeded *Domitian:* in fortunate ſucceſſes againſt the *Germans*, they equal him with *Trajan*; in Temperance and Modeſtie, to *Marcus Aurelius*; in Juſtice, with *Antoninus*; and in Knowledge, with the *ancient Philoſophers.* Vir egregius (ſaith *Eutropius*) & Rempublicam inſigniter Moderaturus: *A perſon of excellent parts, and like to rule the Empire with excellent Moderation.*

His

His Actions while he was Cæſar.

WHen he was about the age of 23, *Conſtantius* declared him *Cæſar*, at ſuch time as the *Barbarians* had ſpoiled *Gaul*; the Emperour being doubtful to carry on the War himſelf. *Marcellinus* (l. 15.) ſaith, that daily Meſſengers brought him tidings of the deplored condition of the *Gauls*, whoſe Country was over-run with the Armies of the *Barbarians* without any reſiſtance. For remedy whereof, he reſiding in *Italy*, and not willing to expoſe himſelf to the hazards of that War, having made *Julian* CÆSAR, ſends him to relieve that Countrie. But *Julian* being ignorant of Martial Affairs, and conſidering what dangers he was ſent to encounter, looks on himſelf as one deſigned for *Death* rather than *Honour*.

Neither of us (ſaith *Julian*) *were pleaſed with this Honour:* not *Conſtantius*, *who gave it unwillingly*; *nor he that received it againſt his will:* for which he calls the Gods to witneſs. And at that very time when the *Purple Robes* were put on him, he uttered this verſe:

Ἐνυάλι Παγκράτιε θεῶν ὦ μῶλον ἐγείρων

and

and told his Friends that he ſhould gain nothing more by his *Honour*, than to *die in a great Enterprize*; and that he was ſent to the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and *Hercynian Wood*, to fight as a *Hunter* with *wild Beaſts*.

Marcellinus ſays the ſame, that it was a common report that *Julian* was choſen not ſo much to *relieve* the *diſtreſſes* of the *Gauls*, as that he might *periſh* in thoſe *cruel Wars*; he being then unskilful, & ſcarce enduring the noiſe of Arms. As he marched before his Army in Militarie Accoutrements, *This* (ſaith he) *is right as the Proverb ſpeaks*, *A Pack-ſaddle on a Cows back*. It hapned that as he was exerciſing in the Fields at *Paris*, the Pins that joyned his Buckler fell out, and the pieces flew about his ears: which ſome taking for an ill Omen, he holds up the handle, and bid them not be diſmay'd; for *what he laid his hands on, he held faſt*.

Yet did this young man not onely defend that part of the Country which was yet free, but expelled the *Barbarians* from thoſe parts which they had poſſeſſed, and in a ſhort time regained many ancient Cities; and in one battle at *Strasburg*, overthrew Seven of the *moſt potent* Princes of *Germany*, and ſent *Chodonomarius* the chief of them to *Conſtantius* at *Rome*: He alſo ſubdued the *Almains*, took their King *Badomarius*, and cleared the bounds of the Empire from all its Enemies: and *this he*

did

did (ſaith *Aurelius Victor*) *with a few Souldiers, againſt infinite Armies of the Enemies.*

But theſe *Victories* of his did ſo exalt him, that he believed that the *Soul* of *Alexander* was infuſed into his Body (as *Socrates* relates). His Souldiers alſo had ſo great an opinion of his Valour and Conduct, that they all reſolved to proclaim him *Emperour:* which though in an Apologie to *Conſtantius* he ſays was done againſt his conſent; yet as well his *ambitious Spirit*, as his *future Actions*, demonſtrate it to have been his deſign. Which *Conſtantius* being informed of, commands him to return: And this he willingly obeyed; but carries with him his whole *Armie*, to ſecure him from the *rage* of the *Emperour*. The *Emperour* alſo prepared *all the Force* he poſſibly could, to give *Julian* battle. To which *Julian* was encouraged by his *Southſayers*, eſpecially by *Aprunculus* an Orator in *Gaul*, who had inſtructed him in the knowledge of the *Intrails of Beaſts*, and *flying of Birds*; and from the *Liver* of a Beaſt incloſed in a *double Caul*, foretold *Succeß* and *Victory* to him. When he came to *Vienna*, an old Woman that had loſt her ſight, hearing that *Julian* was come, cried out, that *it was he that ſhould repair the Temples of the Gods.* About this time he ſent to the Senate an *Apologie* for *himſelf*,

ſelf, accuſing *Conſtantius* of many faults and miſcarriages; which notwithſtanding, the Senate by *Tertullius* their Præfect anſwered his Meſſenger, *Autori tuo Reverentiam Rogamus*; *We have a great reſpect for your Maſter.*

It hapned that *Julian* being about to take horſe, the Souldier that lifted him up fell to the ground. At which accident he ſaid, in the hearing of many, that *he was fallen who had raiſed him to his Dignitie.* And this (ſaith *Marcellinus*, p. 189.) was done at the ſame inſtant when *Conſtantius* died in *Cilicia.* Of whoſe death, *Theolaiphus* and *Alligildus* brought him ſpeedy Notice, declaring that *Conſtantius* by his laſt words named him his Succeſſour. *Am. Marcell.* l.22.c.1. Though the contrary be not only affirmed by *Gregory Nazianzen*, but confirmed by the battel that was intended between them; of which *Julian* gives this account to his Uncle, Epiſt. 13. calling his Gods to witneſs, *that he never intended the death of* Conſtantius, *but rather wiſhed for his life*; *and that he came with his Army againſt him, onely to obtain the eaſier terms of Peace*: or, *becauſe he was condemned as an Enemy, he came prepared to decide the quarrel by a battel, if he could not otherwiſe make his peace.*

Of

Of his Actions while he was Emperour.

JULIAN being without any oppoſition ſetled in the *Imperial Throne*, ſought to gain the affections of all ſorts of people by acts of *Clemencie* and *Juſtice*: And though he had been long ſince an *Apoſtate* from the *Chriſtian Religion*, yet did not appear ſo, till after ſome time: in his Epiſtle to the *Alexandrians*, he ſays, *he had lived Twenty years in the Chriſtian, and Twelve years in the Pagan Religion*, *p.* 200 of his Works.

He entred on the Government as a *Lamb*, however he had the Appetite of a *Lion*, to devour the Church of Chriſt: but he kept on the *ſheeps clothing*, that he might with more ſubtilty *worry* that innocent flock. He frequented the *publick Aſſemblies* of the *Chriſtians*, and re-called thoſe *Orthodox Biſhops* from Exile, which *Conſtantius*, being himſelf of the *Arian* Perſwaſion, had baniſhed; thereby to lay an Odium on *Conſtantius*. And it hath been obſerved, That not long after *Conſtantius* declared againſt the *Deity* of the *Son of God*, the Empire was taken from him, and given to *Julian*.

Julian profeſſed it to be his Opinion, *That*

no

no man ought to force another to be of his Opinion; and charged *the people not to injure the Chriſtians, or reproach them, or draw them to ſacrifice againſt their wills. Sozom.* l. 5 c. 4. And *many Outrages committed by the Heathen upon the Chriſtians, were done without his order.* Theodoret. l. 3 c. 6. But as it is known that he did not perſecute the Chriſtians with *fire* and *Sword*, as *Dioclesian* did; yet he contrived more *miſchievous ways* to deſtroy *Chriſtianity it ſelf*, than others did to deſtroy the *profeſſors* of it: and as one probable means to accompliſh it, he ſummons the Biſhops of the ſeveral Factions, enjoyning them to do nothing to the *prejudice of the Empire*; and on thoſe terms permits them to enjoy their *own Opinions*, and *different Modes of Worſhip. Eo modo* (ſaith St. *Aug. Epiſt.* 166.) *nomen Chriſti de terris perire putavit, ſi Sacrilegas diſſentiones liberas eſſe permiſit*; Thereby to keep them in a balance till he had ſetled his affairs, or to permit them to deſtroy one another, as in *Conſtantius* time the *Arians* had begun, and to ſave him the labour.

He ſeemed averſe from *putting any to death* for their *Religion*, not ſo much perhaps through any *innate clemency*, as through a *deviliſh Polity*: for he had obſerved, that the Church *multiplyed* under the greateſt Perſecutions; and the Faith, Fortitude, and invincible patience of Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, appeared *admirable* to their Enemies: ſo that he *envyed* them the glory of *Martyrdome*. To this purpoſe he wrote an Epiſtle to *Ecebolius*, declaring his mind concerning the *Galilæans*, as he called the Chriſtians; *That none of them ſhould have any force offered them, or be compelled into the Temples, nor be reproached by the Pagans:* and *p.*213. writing to the *Boſtrians*, he minds them *How he had re-called ſuch as were baniſhed, and by an Edict reſtored their Goods which were forfeited.* And though he practiſed the *ruine* of the *Chriſtians*, yet he ſeemed to have a *reverence* of their *Religion:* for when he aſſumed the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, he wrote to his Idol-Prieſts, and tells them, *That the reaſon why the Temples of their Gods were ſo much forſaken, and the Chriſtians frequented, was their different behaviours: The Chriſtians delighting in works of mercy, providing their Hoſpitals for the Poor, the Widows and Fatherleſs,* πτωχείαις & ξενοδοχείαις· *but his Prieſts were barbarous and cruel, *inhoſpitable to ſtrangers or their own poor.* And to his *reproof* adds an *exhortation*, that they would *imitate* the *Chriſtians*. And to the *people* he writes, *That they ſhould learn of the Chriſtians to reverence their Prieſts, and obey their Magiſtrates and Governours.* And he perſwades the *Prieſts not to gad abroad without leave of their Superiours, and communicatory Letters*; and

Such as did notoriouſly offend, he would have them ſuſpended for a time from their Communion in things ſacred, and partaking of their Sacrifices. Of this he ſpeaks at large, in his 49 Epiſtle, *p.* 202.

And although he were a bitter Enemy to *Athanaſius*, concerning whom he by an expreſs *Edict* to *Edicius*, Præfect of *Egypt* gives command to baniſh him, not only out of the City of *Alexandria*, where he had won over many *Noble perſons* to the *Chriſtian Religion*, and cauſed the *Pagan Temples* to be quite deſerted; but alſo out of all *Egypt*: yet did he hold a good correſpondence by Letters with *divers Chriſtian* Biſhops, particularly with *George* an *Arian* Biſhop, whoſe Library after his death he charged *Porphyry* to preſerve intirely for his uſe, *p.* 176. As alſo with *Aetius* another Biſhop, exhorting him to come and live with him, *p.* 164. But he had ſtill a hatred to their *Religion*, though he loved them for their *Learning* and *peaceableneſs*; to which he endeavoured to oblige them by *kindneſs*, being yet afraid to exerciſe *cruelty* towards them. And that he might avoid the Name of a *Perſecutor* himſelf, he gave countenance and incouragement to the *Jews* in their oppoſition of the *Chriſtians*; and gave them leave to rebuild *Jeruſalem*, of which *Amm. Marcell. l.* 23. *c.* 1. & *Euſebius*, *l.* 3 *ch.* 17. write thus.

Julian,

Julian, *desiring to propagate the memorial of his Empire by some great work, intended the re-edifying of the Temple at* Hierusalem, *committing the work to* Alipius *of* Antioch, *who was assisted by the Præfect of* Judea. *But when they began to dig the foundations, terrible Fire-balls issued out of the Earth, destroyed many Workmen, forcing them to desert the work.* With this Heathen Writer *Eusebius* agrees, and relates more at large, *That by an Earth-quake the old foundations were cast up, which many came from far to behold; and that there came down fire from Heaven, which consumed all their Tools and working Instruments, for a whole day together. And that the night following, the forms of Crosses were visible in their Garments, shining like the Sun-beams. Yet those hardned Jews, notwithstanding these three Miracles which forced many of them to confess that Christ was an Omnipotent God, believed not.*

He had indeed so *invincible a prejudice* against the *Christian Religion*, that though he were convinced of the learning and peaceableness of the Christians, yet could not his heart be moved to embrace it. When that excellent Apology of *Apollinaris* was presented him in behalf of the Christians, he returned to them with contempt: *I have read, I have considered, and rejected it.* Yet although he did connive at and tolerate many *indignities*

and *violences* againſt the Chriſtians, and made ſome *Edicts* againſt them, they did multiply and increaſe under him; as *Titus* Biſhop of *Boſtria* remonſtrated to him, *that their number was nothing inferiour to that of the Gentiles*; *and in* Antioch, *in* Alexandria, *and in his very Army, the greater part were Chriſtians.*

And although his deſigns were as bad as *wit* and *malice* could make them, I do not find that he wrote any of his Laws in *bloud*, nor in a *Judiciary manner* did execute any upon the account of their *Chriſtianity*: which we muſt aſcribe wholly to the *Providence of God*, who though he ſet this *wicked Prince* over them, as a *puniſhment* for their *revolt* from the *true Faith* into *Arianiſm*, and for their Diviſions and Cruelties practiſed among themſelves; this *common Enemy* being a probable means to *unite* them both in *faith* and *love*: yet the *Divine Clemency*, who hath the *hearts of all Kings in his hands*, permitted him not to make that havock of the Church which he intended. And *Athanaſius* was a true Prophet, when he told the Suffering Chriſtians that *Julian* was *Nubecula cito tranſitura*, a cloud that threatned a *Storm*, but would be ſoon *blown over*.

And ought not *we* alſo, who as yet conflict onely with our *own fears*, acquieſce in the *Goodneſs of God*, who may yet *prevent*

vent not onely thoſe *diſtant evils* which we *fear*, but thoſe *real miſchiefs* alſo which we are *preſently* and *deſperately* running into? Either the evils we fear may *not come*; or if they *do*, they may be *ſpeedily removed*; and by the bleſſing of God, may be *Sanctified* by our *amendment*, in a greater love of the *Truth* and of *one another*.

While *Julian* was meditating againſt *Chriſtians*, his *vain-glory* ſpur'd him on to a War againſt the *Perſians*, intending to have added one Title more to himſelf, (*viz.*) *Parthicus*. And although he were diſſwaded from it by *Saluſtius*, and other his *beſt Souldiers*, (*Amm. Marcell. l.*23. *c.*4.) as alſo by thoſe *Southſayers* in whom he placed moſt confidence; yet would he by no means be diverted from that War; which he carried on with ſuch *raſhneſs* and *wilfulneſs*, that we may juſtly number him with thoſe of whom it is ſaid, *Quos perdere vult Jupiter, dementat prius.*

He was in his March preſented by a Company of Souldiers with a *great Lyon wounded to death*; which portended the death of *ſome great King*, ſaith *Marcellinus*: but he took no notice of it. A Souldier alſo as he had watered his two Horſes, was ſtruck dead, together with them, by *Lightning*; which was interpreted as an *ill Omen*: yet on he goes to-

wards *Perſia*; and as ſoon as he had landed his Army in *Perſia*, he cauſed his Ships to be burnt, reſerving onely a few of the leaſt of them to ſerve as a Bridge over the Rivers that might hinder his March: which much *offended* his *Souldierie*, as arguing a *diſtruſt* of their *valour*, and cutting off all hopes of *retreat* in their *greateſt neceſſitie*. It hapned that in the *firſt Onſet* which was made by the *Perſians*, *Julian* had the better, and thereupon appointed a *ſolemn Sacrifice* to *Mars*; for which ten white Bulls are prepared; but nine of them died before they could be brought to the Altar, and the other ran away; but being brought back, was ſacrificed; but revenged his death by ſuch *ominous ſigns* as highly incenſed *Julian*, and made him reſolve and ſwear by *Jupiter* never to ſacrifice to *Mars* again. So that here was another *Apoſtacie* of *Julian*'s from one of his chief Gods, the God of *War*.

The grand *Battalia* of the *Perſians* being at hand, *Julian* prepares for it; and in the preceding night he told ſome of his friends, that the *publick Genius* which he ſaw when he was *ſaluted Emperour* in *Gaul*, appeared to him in a ſad poſture, and ſorry habit, paſſing by. He ſaw alſo an *Exhalation* in the form of a *Torch* falling to the ground; which he was afraid had been the Star *Mars* which threatned

ned him. His *Aruſpices* being conſulted upon this, diſſwaded him from that Battle, at leaſt for ſome hours: But he refuſed; and as ſoon as it was day, put his Army in order for a fight. The *Perſians* were as early as he; and falling on the Rear of the *Roman* Armie, put them to ſome diſtreſs: which *Julian* hearing of, made ſuch haſte to *ſuccour* them, that he took onely his *Target*, neglecting any other *Armour*; and by his *ſeaſonable aſſiſtance* recovered the *fault*, and repulſed the *Perſians*; and with hands liſted up, urged his men to purſue them, he himſelf being at the *head* of them, and on the very *heels* of his Enemies. In this Conflict he received his *mortal Wound*; a Javelin ſlightly wounding his Arm, pierced into his Side, and ſtuck in his Liver. From what hand it came, we have had occaſion to enquire already; and as for the report that he pluck'd it out, and threw it in the Air, with a *Viciſti Galilæe*, I find no great *authoritie* for it among the Writers of *that Age*. His wound being ſearched and dreſſed, the pain abated; and calling for his *Arms* and *Horſe*, reſolved to enter again into the fight: but his ſtrength failed him; and hearing that the place where he was wounded was called *Phrygia*, he remembring that it was foretold that he ſhould die in *Phrygia*, deſpaired of life, and about Midnight calling for a draught of cold Water, he drank it, and ſhortly after died. *His*

His dying Speech.

'THe time of departing this life is (my 'Companions) now at hand; which 'as an honeſt and well-meaning Debtor, I 'gladly repay to Nature; not, as ſome belie-'ved, with reluctancie and ſorrow; for by 'the common Opinion of Philoſophers I am 'ſufficiently inſtructed in how much more 'bleſſed condition the Soul is than the Bodie; 'and am ſatisfied, that when one paſſeth out 'of a worſe into a better eſtate, he ought to 'rejoyce, rather than to be troubled: conſi-'dering alſo, that the Celeſtial Gods reward 'the moſt pious men with death, as the grea-'teſt reward of all others. I alſo am aſſured 'that it hapneth to me after the ſame man-'ner; leſt I ſhould fall under ſome heavie 'burthens, as I undergo, or do any thing un-'worthie of my ſelf: having yet ever found 'by experience, that ſorrows and pains as 'they domineer over Cowards, ſo are eaſily 'overcome by Valiant perſons. Neither doth 'it repent me of my Actions, nor the re-'membrance of any Wickedneſs afflict me, 'either committed at ſuch time as I lay in

'the

'the ſhade and in corners as I could, and 'ſtudied vertue; or ſince I came to the 'Government. I think I have kept my ſelf 'blameleſs and without blemiſh, as one de- 'ſcended from the Gods above. ----In times 'of Peace governing with moderation, not 'without good conſideration making either 'Offenſive or Defenſive Wars, though the 'iſſue were not always anſwerable: For the 'Celeſtial Powers alone have the Soveraignty 'of Events; concluding with my ſelf, that 'the end of Government is the advantage 'and ſafety of good Subjects. I have ever 'been (as you know) more inclined to 'Peace and Tranquillitie by the whole courſe 'of my actions; oppoſing Laſciviouſneſs, as 'that which corrupts both things and man- 'ners; and whitherſoever my Mother the 'Commonwealth, how imperiouſly ſoever, 'called me, though to never ſo dangerous a 'Poſt, there have I ſtood immovable, being 'accuſtomed to deſpiſe all fortuitous events. 'I will not be aſhamed to confeſs, that I have 'heretofore underſtood that I ſhould die in 'War: and therefore I adore and praiſe the 'eternal Divinity, that I periſh not by any 'Conſpiracie, nor languiſh through the pain 'of a Diſeaſe; nor am I condemned to death, '(*he thought it might have been upon his Bro-* 'ther's death) but in the middle courſe of

'my

'my flouriſhing Glory, I have deſerved ſo 'renowned a paſſage out of this world. He 'is equally to be eſteemed a Coward, who 'deſireth to die when he ought to live, as he 'who ſhuns death when it comes convenient-'ly. Thus much may ſuffice to have ſpo-'ken, my ſtrength now failing me. Con-'cerning my Succeſſor I wittingly ſay no-'thing, leſt through imprudence I ſhould paſs 'by a worthie perſon, or by naming one I 'conceive fitly qualified, if another ſhould 'chance to be preferred, bring him into im-'minent danger; but as a dutiful Son of the 'Commonwealth, I wiſh her a good Gover-'nour in my room.

Having ſpoken this, he perceived his Attendants to weep, whom he gravely rebuked, affirming it *a pitiful mean thing to bemoan a Prince that was a friend to Heaven and the Stars.* And they being ſilent, he entred into a ſubtile diſcourſe with *Maximus* and *Priſcus*, two Philoſophers; concerning the *ſublimitie of Souls*; till ſuch time as the Wound gaping, and the Tumor of the Veſſels intercepting his Breath, having called for a draught of *cold Water*, he died the more eaſily, about Midnight, in the 32d year of his *Age*, and the ſecond of his *Empire*; having been *Cæſar* Six years. He left no Child behind him; his Wife being dead in *France* before

fore he came from thence. He was buried in the Suburbs of *Tarſus* by *Procopius*, to whom he gave order for it: and *Zoſimus* ſaith his Tomb hath this Epitaph:

Ἰουλιανὸν μετὰ τῆσδε κεκρύφθαι ἰνδαλὴ κεῖται,
Ἀμφίπολον βασιλῆος τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.

Of his Vertues.

I Shall compriſe theſe under the Heads mentioned by *Marcellinus*, l. 25. c. 5. (*viz.*) *Temperance*, *Prudence*, *Fortitude*, and *Juſtice*: all which (ſaith that Author) he ſo *ſtudied* and *attained*, as if they had been *but One*. As to his *Temperance* in reſpect of *Chaſtity*, he was ſo unſpotted, that after the death of his Wife in *France*, he never medled with any woman; nor was he accuſed of the leaſt immodeſty while he was young, and in his full ſtrength, by thoſe that were of his Bed-chamber. To which vertue his *ſpare dyet* and *ſhort ſleep* very much contributed. His dyet was always ſo *ſlender*, as if he intended to return again to his Books. His Supper was uſually a little *Gruel*, ſuch as a *common Souldier* would refuſe, *l.* 24. c. 2. which he took ſtanding, and preſently went to view his Guards and Sentinels, and then returned to his Study, ſcarce allowing himſelf

himself so much solace as might content the necessities of Nature. What was provided for him as an Emperour, he seldom tasted of, but distributed it amongst his poor Souldiers.

He says in his *Misopogon*, that *he had been taught from his youth to wage war with his belly.* And never frequented *Theatres* or *Games*; which he never beheld but with as much *uneasiness* as others did with *delight*. He usually lay onely on a Palate spread on the ground, and would scarce eat enough to satisfie Hunger; abstaining from *Feasts* and *publick Meetings*, saying, *No man ought to be esteemed as temperate at home, who was dissolute abroad, and took pleasure in the Theatres.* His garments and manner of dress was very plain and neglected, and far from curious or courtly fashions. *Dost thou* (saith he) *desire to see the Circensian Games? you shall find them most elegantly described by* Homer; *take the Book, and read.* Such instructions he says he had from his *Tutors*, and them he followed with great pleasure, p. 79.

He was extremely delighted in the society of *learned Men* and *good Books*, for which he often professed *he could willingly leave his Empire.* What intercourse he had with the chief Philosophers of his time, appears by his Epistles to *Libanius*, *Iamblicus*, *Eumenius*, *The-*

Themiſtius, *Elpidius*, and *Maximus*. This laſt, though one of the worſt of them, coming to viſit him, of which he was informed while he ſate in Judicature, he ſpeedily laid aſide his *buſineß* and his *Robes*, and went forth in a familiar manner to meet him and imbrace him. To the reſt, in his Epiſtles he deſired their *preſence* or their *Books*; and ſtiled himſelf, *Their moſt dear Brother.*

For his *Prudence.* This was a Maxim with him, *That it was a ſhame for a wiſe man, having a Soul, to ſeek for commendation from any thing belonging to the Body.* His proficiency in *all manner of learning*, gave him great inſight as well to *Martial* as *Civil Affairs*; which he ſo managed, that though he adventured on many great and hazardous attempts, yet he moſtly came off with good ſucceſs. He could by his *Eloquence*, as by a *Mercury-Rod*, appeaſe the *Tumults* and *Seditions* of his *Souldiers*; and would threaten them, that *if they continued their Mutinies, he would betake himſelf to a private life.*

Again, he ſhewed another inſtance of his *Prudence* in remitting many *Taxes*, rather than to extort them from the poorer ſort of people: nor did he exact on the *Rich*, affirming, *that his treaſure was ſafeſt in the cuſtody of his good Subjects.*

One inſtance of his *Prudence* was this, that he

he would ſuffer himſelf to be *reproved* for any indiſcreet action; being conſcious to himſelf of *raſhneſs* and *precipitancy* in many particulars. *Marcell.* l. 25. c. 6. *Præfectis proximiſq; permittebat ut fidenter impetus ſuos aliorſum tendentes, atq; decebat Monitu opportuno frænarent monſtrabatq; ſubinde ſe dolere delictis, & gaudere correctione.*

He profeſſeth that he uſed deliberation in all his affairs, eſpecially of *Judicature: You know* (ſaith he to *Ecdicius* Præfect of *Egypt*) *how ſlow I am to condemn any one; and when I have condemned him, how much ſlower I am to pardon him.* P. 120. And of his *prudent conduct* in all his affairs, this is a convincing Argument, that during his Reign he was neither diſturbed by *Sedition at home*, nor *invaded* by any of the *barbarous Nations* from *abroad.*

His *Juſtice* appeared alſo in many notable inſtances: for he rather *ſhook* the Sword than *ſtruck* with it: and though he made himſelf terrible, yet was he never cruel; but ſought by the *puniſhment* of a *few*, to reſtrain the *vices* of *many*. He pardoned many that had ſought to take away his life. *Thalaſſius* an enemy to him and his Brother *Gallus* was forbid the Court, which encouraged his enemies to accuſe him; but *Julian* perceiving it to be of Malice, told them, that *Thalaſſius had injured him,*

him, and he muſt have ſatisfaction before them: and upon hearing he was reconciled to him, and he diſcharged him from his Adverſaries.

When one accuſed a great Citizen for a *Traytor*, hoping to be rewarded out of his Eſtate, *Julian* ask'd him what the condition of the man was: he anſwered, *he was a rich Burger, and had made him purple Cloths againſt the Inſurrection. If that be all* (ſaith *Julian*) *you ſhall carry him a pair of purple Shoes too; and let him know, how little ſucceſs he can hope for from ſuch things, without greater power.*

He would ſay of himſelf, *That Juſtice which in former times had left the earth, was returned again*, l. 25. c. 6. And if we believe *Marcellinus*, although he would ſometimes inquire of what *Religion* the parties litigant were, yet he would do nothing *partially* againſt any for their *Religion*.

As for his *Fortitude*, beſides his patient enduring of extream *cold* and *heat*, he would encounter his Enemies *hand to hand*; and by expoſing his own *Perſon*, would keep his *Souldiers* from giving ground to the *Enemy*; which he often did both in *Germany* and *Perſia*, ſlaying divers Enemies with his own hand.

But he had a *better* kind of *Fortitude* than this; namely, that which more becomes a Man, to conquer his own Paſſions, to bear with

with Reproaches, to endure croſs events with patience. *As for me* (ſaith he) *I reſolve to bear whatever falls on me from above with a ſtout mind; for this is the property of good men, to do their duty, and to be of a good hope, and to accommodate themſelves to what ever fatal neceſſity ſhall impoſe*, p. 218. And as men of true *valour* and *magnanimity* are ſeldom *cruel*, he expreſſed a *natural clemency* in all his actions; thoſe againſt the *Chriſtians*, towards his later end, only excepted; which yet I cannot perceive to be executed, but upon ſome great *provocations* by the *raſh* and *ungovernable* among the vulgar ſort of *Chriſtians*. Of which the *Hiſtorians* of that time give *many inſtances*.

But all theſe vertues were ſullyed with that one vile act of his, in becoming an *Apoſtate* from the *beſt Religion*, after that he had *profeſſed* it for *Twenty years together*, and attained a competent *knowledge* therein.

His Vices.

AS his *Vertues* were great, ſo were his *Vices*; and that which was moſt predominant, was his levity and unſetledneſs of mind. For having been falſe to his *Redeemer*, he was never true to any of his *falſe Gods*. He was ſo diſpleaſed with *Mars*, the God of *War*, that

that he ſolemnly *vowed never to ſacrifice to him more.*

He was *talkative* to exceſs, and boaſted of his own *Atchievements*; *Popularity* and *vain-glory* being that which he eſpecially aimed at. *Marcellinus*, who was a Heathen, a great friend and obſerver of his actions, ſays, *l.* 25. *c.* 6. *That he was rather Superſtitious, than a devout obſerver of any Religion.* He offered coſtly Sacrifice, rather to honour *himſelf* than his *Gods*; and though given to *Divinations*, yet contemned ſuch as *boded ill.* So reſolute and ſelf-willed he was in the buſineſs of *Perſia*, that againſt all *good advice*, and *ill preſages*, he caſt himſelf away.

He ſhewed himſelf *unmerciful* in this one *Edict*, that he forbad the Profeſſors in *Rhetorick* and *Grammar* to teach *Chriſtians*, leſt they ſhould *wound* the *Heathen* by their *own darts.* Among his *Edicts*, thoſe are eſpecially noted which he ſet forth againſt the *Chriſtians*; As firſt, his forbidding the Children of *Chriſtians* to be brought up in the knowledge of *Philoſophy*, leſt, as is noted by *Socrates*, they might be better enabled to confute the *Heathen Sophiſters.* 2. His forbidding *Chriſtians* to bear any *Office* in his *Guards*, or *Government* in his *Provinces.* 3. His *Edicts* for ſeizing the Chriſtian *Churches*, and impoſing *Mulcts* on ſuch as would not Sacrifice to his *Pagan Gods.* As

for *Sanguinary Laws*, our *Author* obſerves that he enacted none.

Greg. Nazianzen, who knew *Julian*, hath ſufficiently recorded his *Vices* in his *Stelliteuticks*; from whence our *Author* hath taken *his Hiſtory*. But as I would not believe all as truth, which ſome deliver in *Panegyricks* of their *Heroes*; ſo neither all that is ſaid in ſuch *Orations* againſt *Profeſſed Enemies*.

Of his Works.

ALthough we might wiſh that *Julian* had never known *Letters*, becauſe of thoſe *virulent Satyrs* which he wrote againſt *Chriſtianity*; yet the Poiſon wherewith his Writings do abound, having excellent Remedies prepared againſt the venome of them, by the Learned Fathers of that Age, ſuch as *Greg. Naz.* and *St. Cyril*; there being alſo ſome remarkable paſſages concerning *Hiſtory* and *Chriſtianity* interſperſed, they may be read with ſome benefit by *Learned Men*.

He ſays of himſelf, in an Epiſtle to *Ecdicius* Præfect of *Egypt*, in which he deſired him to ſend the Books of *George* an *Arian* Biſhop of *Alexandria*; *Some delight in Horſes, others in Birds, others in wild Beaſts; but I from my Childhood have been a great lover of Books.*

Books. His proficiency in variety of Learning will appear by what is now extant, although it is ſuppoſed that he wrote many things before he was *Cæſar*, that are now loſt, as ſeveral Orations ſent to *Iamblicus*, the loſs whereof he bewayls in an Epiſtle to him yet extant. My opinion is, that *Julians* Vices were *real* and *deep rooted*, that he had but the *umbrage* and *appearance* of *Vertue*; which he therefore retained, that he might make them ſerve his *Pride*, *Popularity*, and *vain-glory*.

After he came to be *Cæſar*, he redeemed what *time* he could for his *ſtudy*, dividing the night into three parts: one for *ſleep*, another for his *Books*, and the third for his *Military Affairs*; and uſually he would pen one of his *Orations* in that part of the night.

Suidas gives this account of his *Writings*. Firſt, his Book call'd the *Cæſars*, containing a ſhort and ſharp account of them all, from *Auguſtus* to his *own time*. Secondly, his *Saturnalia*, and diſcourſe of *Three figures*. Thirdly, his *Miſopogon*, written againſt the *Antiochians*; and another Tract ſhewing the original of *Evils*: another againſt *Heroclitus*, ſhewing how to live *Cynically*; and many *Epiſtles* of ſeveral ſorts, of which 63 are now extant.

He wrote his *Miſopogon* to revenge himſelf upon the *Antiochians*, who had abuſed him in

words, calling him *Monkie*, *Goats-beard*, and *Butcher*, for killing ſo many *Bulls* for Sacrifices: and that which moſt provoked him, was the *Impreſs* upon ſome *Coyn*, viz. *A Bull lying upon his Back upon the Altar*; which the *Antiochians* interpreted to ſignifie that the World was *turned up-ſide-down* by *Julian*: For theſe reaſons, he upbraids them with their *Intemperance*, and their fondneſs of *Plays* and *Theatres*: Secondly, for their *Religion*, which he calls *Impiety*, though they worſhipped *God* and *Chriſt* inſtead of *Jupiter* and *Apollo*: Thirdly, the *iniquity* of their *Magiſtrates*, who countenanced the *avarice* of the *Rich*, to the *impoveriſhing* of the *People*. For theſe things he blames them, ſpeaking as of himſelf: And when he comes to apologize for *himſelf*, he confeſſes that his life was void of all *Pleaſure*; that he was *too religious* and *ſevere* in *Judicature*, for which he prays their pardon; imputing theſe faults to his *Maſter*, by whom he was taught from his youth to live *temperately*, *religiouſly*, and *juſtly*: and that he had ſpent his youth amongſt the *Gauls*, a rough and warlike people, ignorant of *delicacies*. The ſum of this accuſation we have in this *Syllogiſm*.

He that lives contrary to the manners of other men, is deſervedly accuſed by them.

Julian *liveth contrary to the manners of the* An-

Antiochians, *in contemning Pleaſures, and reſtraining Impiety and Injuſtice, which they allow and defend.*

Therefore he's juſtly accuſed by them.

To which if we add one *Syllogiſm* more, you have the ſum of that whole Book, *viz.*

He that beſtows benefits upon ungrateful men, is a Fool.

Julian *hath beſtowed benefits on ungrateful men, in commending, cheriſhing and increaſing the* Antiochians,

Therefore he is a Fool.

Concerning his account of the *Cæſars*, *Socrates* in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, lib. 3. c. 1. ſays, That he blamed every one of them, not ſparing *Marcus* the Philoſopher: And *Zonaras* in his third Tome, obſerves his ingratitude to *Conſtantius*, blaming him for his *prodigalitie*; feigning that *Mercury* asking him what was the propertie of a good King, he ſhould anſwer; *To have and to conſume much.*

The Books now extant are theſe:

1. His *Orations* in praiſe of *Conſtantius* the Emperour, and of *Euſebia* his wife. 2. In praiſe of the *Sun*, and of the *Mother of the Gods*: Againſt *unlearned Dogs*: To *Heraclius* concerning the Sect of the *Cynicks*; and a *Conſolatory Oration* at the departure of *Saluſt*. His *Cæſars*: his *Miſopogon*, and ſixty three

Epiſtles

Epiſtles beſides that to *Themiſtius* and the *Athenians*. But the moſt *peſtilent* of all his Works were thoſe which he wrote *againſt* the *Chriſtian Religion*, which are *mentioned* and *anſwered* by St. *Cyril* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in Ten Books, conſiſting of 362 Pages, in the ſixth Tome of his Works, ſet forth in *Greek* and *Latine* by *Johannes Aubertus*; printed at *Paris* 1638. to which, for his *full ſatisfaction*, I refer the Reader

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THE CONCLUSION.

IT appears by what hath been ſaid, That *Julian* was a *perfidious* and *deteſtable Apoſtate*: A *malicious* and *ſubtile Perſecutor*; who *deſigned much more* againſt the Chriſtians, than God permitted him to *practiſe*. But as there is an *open* and *declared Apoſtacie* and *Oppoſition* of the *Truth* by *profeſſed Enemies*: ſo is there a *ſecret* and *real revolt* from the *Truth*, and *perſecution* of its *Diſciples*, by ſome that *profeſs* themſelves *Friends* to the ſame. And in our *own Age* we have known *ſome*, not only of the *Roman*, but *other Perſwaſions*, who may

may be *parallel'd with*, and in ſome circumſtances *exceed Julian.*

For *Julian*, being a *Great Prince*, had the *unhappineſs* of being bred in *forein Countries* among *ſubtile Pagans*, who tempted him to *their impieties* in his *youth:* There are *ſome* who have had their *whole Education* among *learned* and *ſincere Profeſſors* of the *Chriſtian Faith*, and yet *revolt* from it. *Julian* for Six years together faithfully *ſerved* the *Emperour* in his *Wars*, to the great *hazard* of his *Life:* Others, even in *times of peace*, ſtudy to involve their *Prince* in *unnatural Wars*, to the *endangering* of *his* and *their own Lives*. *Julian* had a *power* to have executed his *malicious deſigns*, but was *reſtrained:* Others live under a *juſt power*, and enjoy *Protection* and *Peace*; yet their perverſe Wills admit of *no reſtraint*. *Julian* employed his *Wit* in writing againſt his *Chriſtian Subjects:* Others employ *theirs* in writing againſt their *Chriſtian Governours*. He wrote *Panegyricks* of a *Conſtantius*, who had contrived *his death:* Others write *Satyrs* and *Libels* againſt their *Princes* to whom they *owe their Lives*. In a word, the greateſt *aggravation* of *Julian's Apoſtacie*, was, that he had been a *Lecturer* of the *Holy Scriptures*, the truths of which he *renounced*, and wrote againſt them: And there are *ſome* who have been long in the *Order of Prieſthood*, that have

have so far *revolted* from their *Profession*, as to write point-blank against the *plain* and *most necessary practical duties* of the *Holy Scriptures*, And whether *Julian* or *such as these* be the greater *Apostates*, I leave to the Judgement of the Impartial Reader.

FINIS.

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